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LITERARY PANORAMA

FOR FEBRUARY, 1813.

NATIONAL
AND
PARLIAMENTARY NOTICES,
PROSPECTIVE and RETROSPECTIVE.

—
TRADE WITH INDIA.
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PAPERS RESPECTING THE NEGOCIATION FOR
A RENEWAL OF THE EAST INDIA COM-
PANY'S EXCLUSIVE PRIVILEGES.

No. I. to VI.

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ACCOUNTS RELATING TO THE EAST-INDIA
COMPANY'S TRADE.

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The colonial system of modern times differs essentially from whatever was called Colonization in the days of antiquity. There is no history extant of similar settlements, from which we may derive lessons for our guidance under circumstances occasionally perplexing. Nor can we appeal to events the results of such or such maxims and conduct, whether for imitation or for warning. Tyre and Sidon, were dealers, not manufacturers; Carthage, the daughter of Tyre, was a dealer, also. Trade was tempted from the road of Mesopotamia to that of Egypt; it was forced from Rhinocolura to Alexandria; still it was only trade, and the object was dealing in articles already completed, not fabrication, or finishing by handy work.

Establishments formed abroad, looked to themselves for support; and depended on the fertility of the spot they occupied, for obtaining those necessities or conveniences of life, toward which the desires of all men are directed. They did not consider themselves as so many remote provinces of the mother country, bound to

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maintain an intercourse with her, to her advantage; to consume the commodities she furnished, and even to depend on her for daily bread;—which they purchased by their own productions, not resembling her's. In fact, though they changed soil they did not change climate; and very little indeed had they to offer, of which their native country had not abundance. Not such are the colonies of Britain:—stationed under climates essentially different from that where nature has placed her; climates suited to the cultivation of productions denied to her soil, and capable of furnishing value of a different kind from what they receive, yet still value, and extensively acceptable, they offer returns—and this is commerce. Affection alone was the bond of union between the antient colonies and their native country; and this decreased as generations succeeded. Affection and commerce closely interwoven form the bond of union between Britain and her colonies, and this never weakens. Wants are renewed year by year: the connection with the old country is maintained by every generation, the young resort thither for education and instruction in the arts of life, the aged to spend their latter days, amid enjoyments, from which they had suffered a temporary banishment, but towards which they had turned their longing eyes many a time and oft, before they could realize the object of their wishes.

This policy Britain has encouraged more than France did, when she had colonies. The French families of long standing were more numerous on the French islands than on the British; and much more than the British population was the French induced to feel those islands their home, their natural residence. This formed a strong distinction between the two people. Britain would have her absentees, in the West, in the East, wherever placed—

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look homeward, and bear in their hearts the fond remembrance of scenes endeared by the delights of youthful days. Britain wishes that those who die distant from her island, should be conscious of a disappointment of their intentions, should experience a mortification in their surprise by inexorable fate, which forbids them from breathing their latest, where they had drawn their earliest breath.—

While those who have been so fortunate as to realize a competency abroad, should be stimulated by feelings not difficult of comprehension to return and enjoy at home the advantages and the splendour attending property. The governing intention, then, was, to center in Britain the benefits of distant colonization; and the mode of accomplishing this intention has given birth to the most violent struggles of mercantile opposition, which in later times have almost convulsed our country. A struggle of this description at this moment agitates the trading world among us. The expiration of the East-India Company's exclusive Charter for trade to India, affords an opportunity for those who think themselves able to push their fortune with all their powers; and at least to share in that wealth, which they fancy overflows the banks of the Kishna and the Ganges.—

In this, they solemnly declare they meditate the advantage of Britain; and may they but be the means of conveying this advantage, their every wish will be gratified. While on the other hand, the Company affirm that they have already accomplished what their would-be rivals only propose; and have long ago discovered the art of transferring the wealth of India to the Heaven favoured island. They urge another plea also, which even Patriots not divested of human feelings may admit,—the welfare of that Empire, now under their charge, and of which they are in duty bound to promote the prosperity. It cannot promote the prosperity of that Empire, to destroy the Company,—nor to enfeeble the Company,—nor to interrupt that order of proceedings and politics, which the Company has long been endeavouring to establish, but has not yet thoroughly established—or at least not every where. A momentary advantage bestowed on Britain, supposing it to be realized, if succeeded by lasting detriment, would prove

a severe stroke of bad policy: supposing it not to be realized, it could be compared only to the fable of the dog and the shadow: he quitted the substance—to catch at what?—It is no less incumbent on sound politicians to moderate mercantile impatience, than to rouse mercantile torpor; to diffuse knowledge of rocks and quicksands, as of smooth seas and settled monsoons.

The Panorama has some cause to complain of the inattention of the commercial,—or rather, perhaps, the *manufacturing* world, to what intelligence it has from time to time collected and communicated for their use. The evidence on the Orders in Council proved, that notwithstanding our cautions repeatedly addressed to manufacturers, warning them against *increasing* their productive powers,—against indulging extensive *augmentations*, unwarrantable augmentations! they nevertheless continued to dream of more, more, more,—and on this dream they acted, till many of them awoke by the painful reality, by the clamours of their numerous workmen, petitioning for bread. A vision not unlike in kind, misleads many who now grasp at a share in the East-India trade. They have formed no estimate of their own powers,—at least, none such is published;—no estimate of what they can supply—of what India really wants; no estimate of the hazards attending a competition with an established course of trade;—nor of the uncertainties of traffic;—nor of the length of credit;—nor of the expenses, nor of the suitability of the returns;—nor of the state of the market abroad or at home. Have they considered the deductions by discounts, the disadvantages of artificial capital, the chances of quarrels and embroilments with the natives, the hazards and costs attending change from peace to war, in Europe, and from war to peace; the rivalry from foreign nations, as well as from their countrymen? Has the state thought of all these things, and others, for them? Has it calculated in what manner these reverses can be borne by private merchants, which it has so often strained the powers of a company to bear?

We have seen no reasonings of these claimants founded on past experience—yet the case is not new;—nor on fixed principles now in their favour, though formerly adverse to those who for a time

did rival the Company, but in the end relinquished the contest, and accepted the shelter of that establishment they had impugned. In what will the conduct and fate of those who now urge a free trade with India, differ from that of the Interlopers, whose history we know?—or from that of the English India Company, which consigned with the original London Company, into the present “United Company” in 1702?

In a national point of view, the question is simply, what advantage is an open trade likely to ensure to Britain, all things considered, and setting permanency against suddenness, over a trade limited by political restrictions; but not limited as to objects, extent, or supply. We are desirous of promoting British exports to the utmost; and we give every leave to the manufacturers to export their own articles,—provided they can bear better than the East-India Company that loss which the Company affirms it incurs by almost all its exports. If when the Company lose *ten* per cent., these individuals can afford to lose *twenty* per cent., far be it from us to object; but we say, the “*Whereas's*” of the gazette will eventually put the matter beyond a doubt:—and if in the mean time, no harm were done elsewhere, this purification among the competing houses, would not, in itself, be the worst of evils. The probability is, as it proved formerly, that numerous speculators would, as opposing powers, stagnate the Indian market, and being unable to vend their goods, would sell them for prices so low, as to be ruinous:—while the sudden demand they occasioned for productions of that country would enhance their price, *for this one turn*, but leave a hopeless blank ever after. We say the *productions* of the country, because it is doubtful whether many of the *manufactures* of the country could be obtained by them in barter. These are all (the finer sorts) bespoke beforehand; they are all paid for beforehand;—their price is gradually advanced in the shape of maintenance to the workman; and he depends on receiving the same support year after year. But, will individuals bind themselves to give this support *in advance*?—will they give it as wanted?—year after year, in perpetuity?—If not, then will the poor ruined workman—ruined when they cease their demands, have reason to

curse the day which saw him yield to the temptation of a few additional *anas*, and abandon the steady employ of a customer, by whom his family had obtained a maintenance, before him; and by whom those continue to be maintained, whose steadier natures induced them to abide in that station wherein he too, formerly, earned his subsistence.—

Not from him is to be expected that British patriotism, which should be satisfied by assurances that the European islands flourished;—that Britain triumphed in all her ports! India is his mother country—India is his native home: here he lives, or dies; and hard is it—very hard, that his means of living should fluctuate by the speculations of individuals, who have no interest in his welfare, who bestow no thought on his condition, nor care for his continuance. They promise him mighty matters to-day; to-morrow they disappear for ever!

The East-India Company as sovereigns of the country, *must* promote the employment of their subjects, or lose their territorial revenue. If the workman ceases to labour at his loom, how long will the cultivator of the ground feed him?—if he receives no payment for his rice, how long will the husbandman be industrious?—if the husbandman be not industrious, how long will the village pay its rent?—and if the village do not pay its rent, how long will it be defended from savage beasts, from still more savage *deccols*, and from the public calamities of war, unsparing war, and desolating ambition?

If, indeed, it were possible to resign the interior of the provinces now under British power to the *original* authorities of the country, the speculation might be worthy of argument; but the Mohammedan conquest of India has rendered that impossible. Who can distinguish the first occupiers of India?—and when distinguished, shall we abandon them to their own rude and barbarous habits? to despots who impose the Koran as the rule of life and manners—or to the French, who will spare no pains to obtain whatever we relinquish? Which of these tyrannies would be better than that state of things combined with British domination?—under which would the natives be happier than they are at this moment?

Why then, should we in any measure

put to the hazard the British dominion in Hindostan, and with it, the comfort of the population of those extensive provinces? Who that has watched the progress of things in that country, will insure against revolutions, ruinous to every principle of public prosperity? We affirm, without hesitation, that the government of that empire is a matter of supreme delicacy, and that a false step at home, will lead to consequences, from which, though our duty impels us to allude to them, we recoil, with a sensation, that we earnestly pray the British public may long, very long, continue strangers to.

In former ages the supply of Indian articles being limited, the price of those imported restricted the consumption of them to the luxurious and the wealthy: whether Europe has received a real service from the abundance introduced by the discovery of the passage round Southern Africa, and by the cheapness of Asiatic products, has been made a question among the most enlightened politicians. How far it is wise to cherish and support a desire for luxuries so distant in their origin, and so superfluous in their nature, among a whole people, might bear a long discussion. Yet if once rendered general and popular they will become necessities; and when become necessities the *people* become not merely tributaries but dependents. But in the instance of India, a European nation becomes dependent for what it cannot purchase by barter, but must export the precious metals to obtain. This is peculiar to the Indian trade. In dealing with other people, they take goods from us;—we take commodities from them. Not so with India: for what does that country want from us? it has every thing within itself; always had; always will have. But—if India *will* have our gold and silver from us, it becomes us, before we open an unrestricted trade, to enquire from what quarter we shall be able to obtain that supply which may answer her demand. It is well observed by Robertson, that had not the discovery of the South American mines been synchronous with the increasing trade to India, “by such a continual drain of gold and silver, as well as by the unavoidable waste of both in circulation and manufactures, the quantity of those metals must have gone on diminishing, and the value would have

been so much enhanced, that they could not have continued long to be of the same utility in the commercial transactions between the two countries.” Now we know that of late the supply of silver to Britain has not been equal to the demand for it:—hence the market price of it has risen: and we have every reason to believe that the supply of gold, as furnished by the mines themselves, is diminished. Will it then be wise to reduce still lower our stock of the precious metals, that circulating currency, which might be employed *at home* to purposes ten thousand times more beneficial to the commonwealth than the most extensive trade to India can possibly prove? Is it true that there is a superfluous capital, *incapable of advantageous employment in Britain*, sufficient to answer those drains for Asiatic luxuries, which only the discovery of the mines in Spanish America has hitherto enabled us to support? And who can foresee the eventual fate of those mines? At this moment they are surrounded by contending parties. Civil war impedes, if not suspends all their operations. Who will ultimately be their master? If A. shall we be friends with him, and enjoy his commercial confidence? If B. shall we be excluded from his port, and be obliged to purchase what slender pittance may be allowed us from a more favoured nation? Politicians are not expected to look into futurity, as prophets; but after what we have heard, on the subject of a scarcity of the precious metals, the medium of commerce, among us, we shall do well to take care that no fresh cause of diminution, acting, as it were, by sap, and therefore unnoticed by the nation at large, be encouraged and promoted by public authority, and under the patronage of our statesmen, our legislature, and our mercantile men.*

* What now is in India, always was there, and is likely still to continue; neither the ferocious violence and illiberal fanaticism of its Mahomedan conquerors, nor the power of its European masters, have effected any considerable alteration. The same distinctions of condition take place, the same arrangements in civil and domestic society remain, the same maxims of religion are held in veneration, and the same sciences and arts are cultivated. Hence, in all ages, the trade with India has been the same; gold and silver have uniformly been carried thither in

It is wise then to consider well that step, which, once taken, can never be recalled; that disturbance of machinery, which once disordered can never be re-established. The decision of a day, of an hour, may lead to consequences unforeseen by earthly wisdom, uncontrollable by earthly power.

While this article has been in progress, the discussion between the Ministers of Government and the Directors of the East-India Company seems to have taken a new direction. The Company agree to allow the export of British manufactures from wherever the manufacturer or merchant pleases—from any port in the United Kingdom. [This meets our hints already dropped.] But, the Company insists that the return trade, the imports, shall pass through their warehouses in the city of London. This concession reduces the opposition to narrow grounds; it supersedes what we might have said further on the subject, and induces us to close this branch of it, by quoting the opinion of that eminent India statesman, the late Lord Melville; who, when President of the Board of Control, did not scruple to express the dictates of his judgment in the following terms, addressed to the Directors of the Company.*

“If I am asked, whether I mean that the trade to and from India, in the common use of the terms, ought to be free and open to all

order to purchase the same commodities with which it now supplies all nations; and from the age of Pliny to the present times, it has been always considered and execrated as a gulf which swallows up the wealth of every other country, that flows incessantly towards it, and from which it never returns. According to the accounts which I have given of the cargoes anciently imported from India, they appear to have consisted of nearly the same articles with those of the investments in our own times; and whatever difference we may observe in them seems to have arisen, not so much from any diversity in the nature of the commodities which the Indians prepared for sale, as from a variety in the tastes, or in the wants, of the nations which demanded them.—*Robertson's Dis. on India*, p. 261.

* For Considerations on the renewal of the Company's Charter, in which this subject is further treated—and for Mr. Grant's excellent letter “On the Trade with India,” in which a variety of information is included, the reader is referred to *Panorama*, Vol. XI. p. 577* and p. 770 *et seq.*

His Majesty's subjects in India? *I answer distinctly in the negative.* The nature of the Indian manufacture, and the immemorial habits of the manufacturers, exclude the practical application of so indefinite a principle to the export trade from India. The manufacture of the finer and more valuable fabrics of India has always been produced by advances from the Government, or individuals, for whose behoof those fabrics are manufactured; and if the dealing with those manufacturers was to be laid open to the uncontrolled competition of every individual, the consequence would be a boundless scene of confusion and fraud, and ultimately, the ruin of the manufactures themselves.

“No agent should be employed in India, or permitted to reside there, except with the licence of the East-India Company, and subject to the control of such regulations as the habits, prejudices, and trade of the country may render expedient. In addition to every other consideration, arising out of the peculiar nature of the trade and manners of the country, there is one decisive circumstance against the tolerance of every unlicensed adventurer in India. It would rapidly, though insensibly, lead to the settlement and colonization of the worst kind of adventurers taking root in that country, than which there could not be a more fatal blow to the permanence of the British power and pre-eminence in India. No principle ought ever to be tolerated or acted upon, that does not proceed on the basis of India being considered as the temporary residence of a great British Establishment, for the good government of the country, upon steady and uniform principles, and of a large British factory, for the beneficial management of its trade, upon rules applicable to the state and manners of the country.

“The export trade to India can never be extended, in any degree proportionate to the wealth and population of the Indian Empire; neither can the returns upon it be very profitable to individuals. Those who attend to the manners, the manufactures, the food, the raiment, the moral and religious prejudices of that country, can be at no loss to trace the causes, why this proposition must be a true one. The importance of that immense Empire to this country, is rather to be estimated by the great annual addition it makes to the wealth and capital of the kingdom, than by any eminent advantages which the manufactures of the country can derive from the consumption of the natives of India, yet I do not mean to say, that the exports from this country to India have not been very considerably increased of late years; and I make no doubt, that, from recent circumstances, they may be still considerably increased.

“With regard to the agents to be employed

at home to manage the private-trade of individuals from India, and to take care of their interest in the cargoes of the returning ships, I do not see the use of any interference by the Company. *The great interest to be attended to on the part of the Company is, that no goods come from India that are not deposited in the Company's warehouses, and that the goods so imported are exposed at the Company's sales, agreeable to the rules prescribed for that purpose.*

"I am prepared explicitly to declare, that although the first formation of an East-India Company proceeded upon purely commercial considerations, the magnitude and importance to which the East-India Company has progressively advanced, is now so interwoven with the **POLITICAL INTERESTS** of the Empire, as to create upon my mind a firm conviction, that the maintenance of the monopoly of the East-India Company is even more important to the **POLITICAL INTERESTS** of the State, than it is to the commercial interests of the Company."

We now direct the attention of our readers to the narrowed question—*Whether the Import Trade from India shall pass through the Port of London ONLY, or be extended to other Ports?* Certainly this is of consequence to the Company. Rival sales at Bristol, Liverpool, &c. can do the Company's sales no good, and may do them great harm. A low price in an outport may occasion a low price in London, without other cause, and contrary to every rational expectation. It must divide the buyers. *Foreign* buyers will hope to buy cheapest where they expect least competition. Private sales may be effected by transfer, to answer pecuniary engagements, long contracted; the goods may be sold while in their progress homewards at *unstable* prices,—prices forced by the necessities of the seller; and these, obtained at a cheap rate, may be retailed, for ready money, on terms that it would be ruinous to the Company to meet, in hopes of counteracting. The very idea that the Company—which has brought the trade to what it is; and in time of **PEACE!** may do much more—should run a race of depreciation with an outport, under the apprehension "if we do not ruin them, they will ruin us," is extremely unpleasant, and what is worse must be unprofitable.*

* It is not irrelevant to this subject to advert to a passage in the history of the Dutch

To this may be added the hazard, or rather the certainty, that a description of men would start up, calling themselves brokers, but really deserving the name of *jobbers*, who would travel from port to port to watch the sales; to obtain commodities on their own terms, and after finding their way, they would extend their speculations, form associations, combine their powers, and controul the sales of the Company by commanding those at the outports, where their connections would be more immediate, and, possibly, irresistibly powerful. This evil would be very great, yet would come under no practicable provisions of a thousand acts of Parliament against smuggling.

But, after all, in our humble conception, the Merchants, the Port, and the City of London have more at stake in this proposal than the Company. Government has much at stake, and on this the Directors argue; but those who have vested property in the occupations necessary to the accommodation of this trade—these are the people interested most deeply of all! Never let it be forgot that commerce is the most fluctuating of all human enjoyments:—that the very year in which the Stadthouse of Antwerp was finished, and its warehouses ready to receive goods in profusion, that very year commerce took its flight to Amsterdam; and warehouse rent at Antwerp sunk to nothing. It had before retired from Bruges, once the most magnificent of commercial capitals. It has since all but retired from Amsterdam. Who can tell from whence it may next retire? As to the commercial privileges of the city of London, let the corporation look to them.

East-India Company, under the year 1692. "The plurality of East-India partnerships or societies, at this time, formed in Holland, creating much disorder and clashing in that commerce, the States-General summoned before them the Directors of all these Companies, and obliged them to unite, for the future, into one, to which United Company the States granted the sole commerce to East-India for twenty-one years from the 20th March 1692." They had, in consequence, several *Chambers* of East-India Commerce in Holland, as Amsterdam, Middleburgh, &c. but they were all under one united direction.—See Anderson's Commerce, and Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, under 1692.

If once broke in upon, who can tell where the second breach may be made?

But having given it as our opinion that those who have supported this commerce by their accommodations—who have made it their dependance, and engaged their subsistence in it, will feel the loss of it more intensely than those will feel the benefit, who have hitherto been strangers to it, *should they even succeed in securing a share of it*, we shall now adduce such arguments as bear on this question, and have been officially published. The *Resolutions* of any set of dealers, in their own favour, must always be taken *cum grano salis*; but the *arguments* on which those resolutions rest are open to the judgment and examination of all. The following extracts have been guided by this principle.

LORD MELVILLE'S OPINION ON OPEN
TRADE, March 21, 1812.

You will do me the justice to recollect, that in all our discussions on this subject, both recently and on former occasions, the admission of the ships of merchants in this country into the trade of India, in concurrence with those of the Company, has never been urged as a measure, from which *much immediate benefit* would, in my opinion, be derived, either to the country or to the individuals who might embark in the speculation; and I certainly am not without considerable apprehension, that, at least on the first opening of the trade, *the public expectation*, as to the British territories in India affording any considerable outlet for British manufactures, beyond the amount of our present exports, *may be disappointed*.

SMUGGLING.

With all the care now taken, and when London is the only lawful place of importation, it is well known that teas, shawls, silks (prohibited, for the encouragement of our own manufactures), and other articles, are at the present time, to some extent, smuggled on shore from the East-India ships, notwithstanding the penalties of the law; and when, in addition to the legal penalties, the offending parties, if the Company's servants, are liable to further fines and mulets on all illicit trade. But the hope of evading the heavy duties will ever continue to operate on persons, who look no further than their own immediate profit or convenience.

We have already given many reasons for thinking that the practice of smuggling would, in case of an open trade, be uncontrovertable.

It is a fact notorious, that tea has been smuggled, by way of India, into this coun-

try, even when the duty was comparatively small; when the Indian import trade was confined to eight or ten Company's ships and to the river Thames. How much more, then, is smuggling, beyond all bounds, to be expected, when the ships shall be unlimited in number and size, and may resort to the outports of England, Scotland, and Ireland? This practice would be much facilitated, because, in the numerous Eastern Islands, not subject to any European power, where we have said tea might be brought for English ships from China, there is no usage of clearing out vessels, or giving them papers or manifests. It would thence be easy for them to break bulk in the passage home, and as they approached the coasts of Britain and Ireland, to put tea, as well as other articles chargeable with duty, on board of ships and cutters destined either for the *ports of the Continent*, or the remote coasts of Scotland and Ireland, on which, for a hundred miles together, every where accessible from the sea, there is scarcely a custom-house, and where custom-houses could not be sufficiently multiplied. Vessels of very small size being allowed in the Indian trade, they could enter into ports and bays little frequented, and run goods to be carried inland and there dispersed. In some of the northern and western ports of the United Kingdom, we have heard that collusive practices between the revenue officers and the smugglers are not unusual. If this is the case in respect to articles which pay a comparatively small duty, what would it be, where the articles of tea and Indian goods were in question? Ships might stop at intermediate ports for orders, and there smuggle; as those bound to the western coast, at Cork and Falmouth; those to the eastern coast, at Falmouth and the Downs; those going north about, on the Irish and Scotch coasts. Ships having several ports of discharge, would thereby obtain facilities in smuggling; and the state of relations between this country and parts of Northern Europe may be such, as to afford the means of running goods into those parts which, from their proximity, may again be able to smuggle the goods into our remote ports.

Nor is it to be overlooked, that a class of Indian goods, styled in the revenue language *prohibited*, because excluded altogether, as interfering with the manufactures of this country, will, by all the openings which the new trade will produce, be every where unavoidably brought into use.

It is indeed true, that the public appear to have a greater concern at stake here than the Company. The public may lose the greater part of a revenue of four millions per annum, whilst the Company can have only to the extent of one million at hazard. But then this one million is all the Company's certain

income: if they lose that, they lose the foundation on which their efficiency rests;...and if the revenue of nearly *four millions*, now so easily collected from tea, should fail, or fail to the extent of only *two millions*, other taxes must be laid upon the public, to compensate for that loss; and whether the nation will gain so much otherwise, by the proposed enlargements of trade, may be a serious question.

PRIVATE SALES.

If private bargaining and trafficking with individuals, and from day to day, were allowed in the sales of the great imports of the Company, how many doors would be open for collusion, imposition, and abuse! It would be impossible the business could go on in that way, and the very liability of it to suspicion, would be enough to destroy the confidence of the proprietors and the public. Besides, the importations of the Company coming in fleets at stated seasons, it suited the convenience of all parties, that the sales should also be only at stated seasons, and public, which would afford the opportunity to buyers to resort from all parts, foreign as well as domestic to those sales.

If the mode of private sale of Indian goods in every town in the kingdom were introduced, would not the stated and the public sales, to which the Company are restricted, be continually anticipated, and consequently the supply of the foreign markets be so also; though, on the whole, these markets could not take off more? Could these sales, then, secure a general assemblage of buyers? Could it be reckoned upon, that the Company's goods would go off, as they usually have hitherto done, at the sales? Could the prices be expected to indemnify the Company, when the market should be lowered by the necessity or impatience of private importers? Could the realization, in money, of the Company's Indian imports be depended on: that realization, so necessary to the finances of the Company? and if not, how could the currency of their affairs be preserved? how could they pay for exports to India? how could they maintain the fleet of ships they now employ in their Indian commerce?

RE-EXPORTATION: HOME SALE.

The only practical arguments that occur in favor of the outports, are the advantage to the merchants themselves and to the country consumers. Now what is the amount of this advantage? Let it not be forgotten, that at present it is problematical, at least, whether any great Indian trade can be established by the private merchants; that, at any rate, the chief part of the Indian goods imported into England is intended for re-exportation; that

London is the fittest port and mart for the foreign trade, especially since the warehousing act; that there is really *little consumption of Indian goods in the interior* of this country; and that if no great accession of trade should be brought to the country by the private merchants, then they will have sacrificed the existing system, without obtaining even the object for which the sacrifice was made.

CONFIDENCE OF FOREIGNERS.

The confidence that has been entertained of the Company's regularity and fair dealing has been such, that the foreign buyers have given their orders to their correspondents in London, on the faith merely of the descriptive marks; and goods, on their arrival on the Continent, frequently pass through various hands, before they are finally unpacked.

RAW SILK.

The Company have, at great expense in a long course of years, by means of their own establishments, brought the raw-silk of Bengal, which they export, to a high state of perfection; and if that article is left to the competition of individuals, who will often have to resort to the agency of indolent natives, the quality of the article may be expected materially to fall, and the silk manufacturers of this country to be much worse supplied than they are at present.

SPICES: MOLUCCA ISLANDS.

The demand of all Europe for the spices of the Moluccas is so limited, that *one or two of the Company's ships may import a sufficient quantity for the supply of it*: the division, therefore, of this supply among the Company and the merchants in general of this country, will leave so little to the individuals of the latter class, as to form no object worthy of long and distant enterprize; not to mention, that *spices are now rising up in other parts of the East*, which renders these islands less important than they have been. The maintenance of the Molucca islands, which produce no valuable commodity but spices, occasions to the Company a heavy expense, and can only be compensated by a monopoly of their trade; and if private merchants are to participate in that trade, they ought also to bear a proportionable share of the charge of establishment in those islands.

SHIPS: LARGE; SMALL.

It has been found by experience, that larger ships can be navigated at a less rate per ton than small ones: hence one of four hundred tons will require less rate of freight than two of two hundred tons; a point of economy in the conveyance of goods, which is not to be disregarded, even in a national view. As India is concerned, the smaller vessels

will multiply a description of persons in the ports and throughout the country, whose conduct may have serious effects on the peace and quiet of the Asiatic governments. The minor ports throughout the country will admit of an intercourse and connexion between Europeans and the natives, which the vigilance and power of our government cannot discover nor control.

IRREGULAR SETTLERS.

But the spice trade is not the most interesting consideration belonging to this question, If in any of the islands in the Eastern Seas not belonging to the Company, British subjects were to settle, (a thing which the Company, even if armed with legal powers, would find it difficult to prevent, after those seas should be open to all the ships of this country,) it would seem impossible to hinder them from obtaining, by one means or other, a supply of the teas of China, for the purpose of being smuggled into Europe. That object alone might be tempting enough to induce a settlement, where no other circumstance was sufficiently inviting. And if from this motive, or a concurrence of others which be supposed, a number of Englishmen were once to unite themselves in that quarter, whither new individuals might continually resort, and whence, again, they might repair to all the ports of the Indian continent, it would seem scarcely practicable to preserve the efficiency of regulation formed, either here or by the Indian governments, for the exclusion of unlicensed persons from their territories. Such would be the danger, especially if any British settlement in the Eastern Archipelago, not subjected to the government of the Company were so settled.

OPINIONS OF THE BUYERS OF PIECE GOODS.

As piece goods are of an uncertain value, and depend very much on competition, it would not be possible to obtain the same prices for them at an outport, as they fetch in London; and, consequently, that we should be undersold at the outports, unable to carry on our business with the honour, respectability, and advantage we have hitherto done, and probably obliged to abandon the pursuit many of us have been engaged in for a great number of years, and driven to seek fresh undertakings, at a time when little benefit can be expected from them. And it is the opinion of this meeting, that it is the decided interest of the importers of piece goods themselves, that they should be continued to be brought to sale in the port of London (as the emporium of commerce) in the way they now are, where they will have the benefit of the Company's own assortment.

That the duty on muslins and nankeens is..... £10 0 0 per ct. on importation, and..... 27 6 8 per ct. on home consumption.

Together £37 6 8 per cent.

On calicoes, dimities, and shawls..... £3 6 8 per ct. on importation, and..... 68 6 8 per ct. on home consumption.

Together £71 13 4 per cent.

That as these duties are paid on the prices obtained at the East-India Company's sales, if a piece of muslin sell for fifty in lieu of one hundred shillings, the revenue for home consumption is injured £37. 6s. 8d. per cent. on the difference, or 18s. 10d. per piece. If a piece of longcloth sell for twenty five in lieu of thirty six shillings, the revenue is injured £71. 13s. 4d. per cent. on the difference, or 7s. 10d. per piece.

That in all silk and prohibited goods, and even in white goods, if not brought to the port of London, it is much to be feared, no restraints could prevent smuggling; which would occasion a loss of the whole duty to government, be seriously injurious to the fair trader, and especially to the manufacturers of silk goods in Spitalfields, and elsewhere.

That the introduction of Indian piece goods to the consumption of this kingdom at low prices, in consequence of a total evasion of duty, or a payment of duty on reduced prices, would be a serious injury to the British cotton manufacturer.

That it is of the greatest advantage to the great body of British cotton manufacturers to confide the import of India piece goods to one port, as it gives them the opportunity of viewing them, and regulating their manufactories according to the quantity and sorts intended for sale; whereas, if individuals were allowed to import piece goods, and sell them at an outport, the British manufacturer would never know what quantity might be brought into the market, or how to regulate his manufactory.

That the principal factories in India for muslin, calicoes, and silk goods, being in the hands of our East-India Company, and the greatest attention being paid to maintain the qualities and fabrics of each sort, it is reasonable to conclude, that the same influx of foreigners, who purchase very large quantities of the national manufactures, will attend the sales at the India House (whenever the politics of Europe will allow them to come) as used to resort here for a series of years, provided the quantity exposed to sale by the East-India Company is of sufficient importance to draw their attention.

TERRITORIAL REVENUE.

It is perfectly known, that for a series of years past, since the Indian territory has been loaded with an immense political debt, the Company have derived no surplus from the revenues. They have carried on the currency of their home affairs, they have even aided the political concerns of India, and above all, they have made good the dividends to the Proprietors from the profits on their commerce; and, of late years, these profits have been derived chiefly from the China trade. From the still existing territorial debts of the Company, and the scale of their Indian expenditure, after all endeavours to reduce it, the Court of Directors have no prospect of pecuniary acquisitions, except through the same medium of commerce, for many years to come; and, as already intimated, it is the commercial profits of the Company which enable them to discharge the political functions assigned to them in the management of the Indian empire. Without this resource, or some equivalent one, not within their power, the dividends could not be continued, the value of the stock would diminish, and the Company be brought to a state of dissolution.

It is the extinction or material diminution of the commercial profits, arising chiefly, as we have said, from the China trade, that we apprehend from the opening of the outports to the returns of the Indian commerce. If this extinction or diminution were to take place, your Lordship will doubtless agree with the Court in admitting that the fatal consequences they contemplate would follow; and that, after going on a few years on the new plan, the Company would be so impaired in its resources, as to be inadequate to the important part allotted to it in the system of Indian administration.

OFFICERS, TRADE-MEN, AND LABOURERS IN THE PORT OF LONDON, IMMEDIATELY DEPENDENT ON THE EAST-INDIA COMPANY.

There are about fourteen hundred commanders and officers belonging to the ships of the East-India Company (besides the seamen, who may be about eight thousand). The tradesmen engaged in the supply of the Company's shipping in the river Thames are about *two or three thousand*; and the labourers employed in their warehouses are about *three thousand*. All these, with their families and dependants, making an aggregate of *thirty thousand persons*, would, by the removal of the Indian trade from the port of London, be generally reduced to great distress, and many of them become burthensome to their parishes.

CAPITAL.

The Capital now employed in the Indian trade may be moderately computed as follows:

The Company's capital stock of	£6,000,000, at the price at which many proprietors purchased, will amount to	£10,800,000
Capital in warehouses	- - -	1,000,000
Capital in ships	- - -	3,800,000
Capital in docks	- - -	400,000
Capital of individuals in the metropolis may be moderately estimated at	- - - -	5,000,000

£21,000,000

REVENUE.

The trade in which this large capital is employed produces, as we have had occasion repeatedly to observe, an annual revenue of more than *four millions sterling*; and the net saving to government, from the present mode of collecting the duties, may, we conceive, be fairly estimated at £150,000 per annum. By means of direct and indirect taxation, the capital itself and the profits upon it, yield a further sum of large amount to government; but the productiveness of the capital, in this respect, depends wholly upon the solidity of the basis on which it rests.

ANSWER OF RT. HON. THE EARL OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, Dec. 24, 1812.

SMUGGLING.

It is conceived, that the apprehensions entertained on this account might be obviated by various regulations, such as confining the trade to those ports which are, or may be so circumstanced, as to afford security to the due collection of the revenue; by the limitation of it to vessels of four hundred tons burthen; by attaching the forfeiture of the ship and cargo to the discovery of any illicit articles on board; by an extension of the manifest act; by regulations for checking the practice of smuggling in the ships of the Company; as well as by other provisions, too minute to be entered into at present, but which will, of course, be attended to, in discussing the details of the subject.

I am persuaded it will not escape your observation, that from obvious considerations, the English Channel must, at all times, especially in time of peace, afford facilities and inducements for smuggling, which do not occur elsewhere to the same extent, on account of the clandestine traffic already established, and the ready communication with the opposite shore.

But, with respect to the whole of this part of the question, it is impossible to lose sight of the deep interest which the government must feel in the prevention of smuggling. The interests of the Company are, no doubt, involved in it; but those of the government are still more concerned; and it cannot be supposed that they would bring forward any proposition, which appeared to them likely to endanger a revenue of from three to four millions; or that, if a defalcation should unexpectedly arise, they would not immediately take measures for applying a remedy. The Company have, therefore, an ample ground of confidence, not only in the disposition of government, but their effectual co-operation on those points, on which the Court of Directors appear to feel the greatest anxiety, and on which they urge their strongest objections to the proposed arrangement.

DUTY ON GOODS IMPORTED.

The several articles which may be imported from the countries within the limits of the Company's charter, and which are charged with an *ad valorem* duty, although, with the exception of tea, they bear a very small proportion to the whole of the revenue collected from the trade from India and China, are nevertheless of sufficient importance to demand the attention of government, as the question may affect the interests of the East-India Company, as well as those of the public revenue.

With this view, it will be necessary to consider whether, with respect to some of them, a RATED DUTY might not be substituted, and whether regulations may not be made for the security of the duty *ad valorem* on those articles which shall continue to be so charged, and which, at the same time, shall prevent their being purchased at a price, likely to operate injuriously to the manufacturers of this country.

A Return of the Total Number of Servants engaged in the Commercial Department of the East-India Company in India, with their Salaries.

	Servants.	Salaries.
Bengal	11,468	£263,943
Madras	1,241	60,504
Bombay	205	9,352
Bencoolen	12	5,230
Prince of Wales' Island	447	55,862
	13,373	£397,891

East-India House,
29 April, 1812.

WM. WRIGHT,
Auditor of India Accounts.

Advances and Charges in India, admitted as claims upon the public, and paid in England by His Majesty's Government, from 1792-3 to 1808-9 inclusive.

1792-3	Nil.
1793-4	£.
1794-5	225,711
1795-6	684,753
1796-7 to 1805-6, not distinguished as to each year	2,827,515
1797-8	600,264
1798-9	105,435
1799-1800	33,128
1800-1801	1,157,538
1801-2	1,635,292
1802-3	773,419
1803-4	121,603
1804-5	111,619
1805-6	32,782
1806-7	26,948

£8,386,007

Deduct, bills drawn in favour of the court.....53,635

Net difference of ordinary pay to troops 120,000

173,635

£8,212,372

East India House,
29th April 1812.

WM. WRIGHT,
Aud. of Ind. Acc.

Advances and Charges in India on account of the public service, not yet admitted by His Majesty's Government, from 1792-3 to 1808-9 inclusive.

1795-6	266,747
1796-7	355,975
1797-8	199,727
1798-9	494,767
1799-1800	335,480
1800-1801	402,842
1801-2	303,062
1802-3	152,709
1803-4	144,891
1804-5	24,575
1805-6	46,740

£2,527,515

East-India House,
29th April 1812.

WM. WRIGHT,
Aud. of Ind. Acc.

Investments of Goods received from India, from each Presidency and Settlement, from 1792-3 to 1808-9 inclusive.

Years.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Bencoolen.	Total.
1792-3.....	£765,188	£264,799	£71,235	£31,107	£1,132,329
1793-4.....	967,388	195,108	97,185	13,696	1,273,377
1794-5.....	1,011,166	247,260	197,059	12,981	1,468,465
1795-6.....	1,073,637	591,798	146,917	27,899	1,840,251
1796-7.....	1,081,045	411,096	171,930	18,707	1,682,778
1797-8.....	1,036,667	621,940	391,384	21,634	1,999,625
1798-9.....	1,593,884	414,626	111,329	19,692	2,144,531
1799-1800.....	537,569	572,792	261,342	17,700	1,389,402
1800-1.....	943,217	384,987	172,615	31,382	1,532,201
1801-2.....	714,403	400,387	153,961	13,168	1,281,919
1802-3.....	380,163	236,337	259,868	21,699	891,067
1803-4.....	825,433	481,134	197,445	16,686	1,520,698
1804-5.....	953,084	341,615	160,180	50,024	1,504,903
1805-6.....	807,752	747,712	183,527	52,548	1,791,539
1806-7.....	272,420	386,639	146,322	44,481	849,862
1807-8.....	522,152	398,001	126,775	32,517	1,079,445
1808-9.....	754,005	429,792	146,196	19,437	1,349,430

East-India House,
29 April, 1812.

CHARLES CARTWRIGHT,
Accountant General.

On the consideration of these tables (taken from returns made to the House of Commons) it might be asked who, beside a fixed and permanent company, or other perpetual society, could advance, or could think of advancing, such great sums for the public service? That private merchants have, on urgent occasions, lent their vessels to government, and furnished stores necessary to fit out ships of war, &c. from their own property in the West-Indies, and elsewhere, we take a pleasure and a pride in acknowledging; but that a sum amounting to millions should be advanced, and the advances continued year after year, exceeds the powers even of British merchants, "princes," though they be, "in the midst of the earth."

There is a something grating to the feelings of Britons in pursuing such a line of conduct, as may allow our beneficiaries to look back on their exertions, and calculate whether they acted wisely in promoting the public welfare at such expence? Whether they had not better have kept their money in their pockets, and refused to contribute to the acquisition or the maintenance of privileges, or sovereignties, or dominions, to which their future claims shall be thought but slightly of, while their outlay is rendered unproductive? This observation might be directed to various acquisitions of the Company. Will they prove to the Company a benefit equal to the expences they

have incurred, and still do incur, in case the commerce now enjoyed by that body be diminished by competition? The Company say they will not. The merchants say they enter on this trade unshackled by any such considerations; free as air. The policy of this, as to them, is clear; it becomes dubious when considered in reference to the nation; it is clearly inequitable policy in reference to the Company. For after all, as honesty is the best policy, so justice and even liberality are entitled to a full and fair hearing on this occasion. It must be acknowledged, that when the Company incurred their greatest expenses they knew, perfectly well, the stipulated duration of their Charter for exclusive trade: on the other hand all the world knows, that the twenty years during which they have been thus privileged have been years of war;—not war of a common kind, but carried on against general commerce, and East-India commerce in particular, with an animosity beyond example. It were, undoubtedly, extremely desirable for the Company, and surely nothing unreasonable, either that they should enjoy the sweets of some few years of peace, (it is hoped approaching) or that those who come in for a share of the trade they have supported, at a vast expence, should in some shape propose a compensation for the enjoyments of benefits, towards which they have contributed NOTHING.

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Speeches of the Right Hon. Henry Grattan, with Prefatory Observations. The whole comprising a brief Review of the most Important Political Events in the History of Ireland. Vol. I. 8vo. Pp. 520. Price 12s. Fitzpatrick. Dublin: 1812.

THE office of editor is at all times more responsible and important than the public are aware of; but never is it of greater consequence than when reporting sentiments attributed to an eminent public character. His arguments, his statements, his inferences, are at the mercy of those who undertake the office of conveying them to the public by means of the press. *Litera scripta manent*; and the effect of such documents, is not only more extensive at first, but more lasting, than cursory readers suppose. The editor of this volume does not profess to have enjoyed the advantages which must have attended a revision of these papers, by their author. He pleads diligence and assiduity in examining "the various records where the best and most faithful reports could be found."

Reports of speeches in newspapers, are always liable to the imputation of haste in composition, of inaccuracy in selecting the most prominent ideas, and in catching the language of a speaker. These imperfections disappear, when a gentleman, after an interval of time revises his own speeches; and becomes responsible for the sentiments which he adopts on cool consideration. For, to all other causes of uncertainty must be added, the impossibility that every reader should be able to make just allowance for those arguments, answers and explanations, which are rendered *impromptu*, through the urgency of debate. We are not to suppose, that the desire of victory, of personal superiority, of argumentative readiness, and preponderating weight, in the senate, is unknown among parliamentary orators; or that gentlemen acting on that grand national theatre, are insensible to public applause as individuals, or to the reputation of their party, of which they are the organs. They speak as settled for them; they allot their respective parts among themselves: the affair is reduced to a system, and not always influenced by the simple desire of public benefit.

But, the chief necessity for revision by

the original author, arises from statements of facts, which argumentative addresses usually contain. On the authority of Mr. Grattan, future ages will appreciate the state of Ireland, in his days; his descriptions will be accepted as strictly accurate; nor will they know how to distinguish the narrator from the orator; — where fact ends and exaggeration begins. If they take *literally* all the assertions in reports, bearing any name, however highly respected; they will be misled, unless they were edited by the party himself; and if such are not to be taken literally, the impeachment of their usefulness, and application is evident.

The difficulties which have attended the administration of public affairs, during the last thirty years have been notorious. Scarcely has a short period of peace allowed government to devote that attention to home concerns, which is its first and bounden duty. And when that duty, which ought to be first, is by adverse circumstances forced into a secondary rank, the negligence of those in power, may be much more apparent than real, and rather to be regretted or pitied, than condemned.

In the volume before us, we conceive that the influence of foreign affairs is too little understood and admitted by the editor. When Ireland unfortunately resolved to continue Catholic, notwithstanding the reformation of religion in Britain, and when more unfortunately still, it armed its population in support of a Catholic King, to whose family it adhered for many years, it differed so widely from Britain, that scarcely could the interests of the two countries be considered as the same. That family is now extinct; and ever since its extinction, the emancipation of Ireland has been progressive; her circumstances have gradually improved; into her opinions of Britons is infused a mildness, not previously their character; and Britons have in consequence adopted notions of Irishmen, infinitely more conciliating than before. Neither ought it to be forgot, that Ireland was deemed by the *Pro-paganda* of Jacobinism, the most hopeful soil in which to sow their pestiferous tenets. The necessity of repelling and counteracting those tenets, has done more to retard the prosperity of Ireland, than all the perverseness and obduracy of Bri-

fish ministers, displayed in their actions, however charged and anathematized, by orators in either island. Mr. Pitt certainly intended the advantage of both countries, in his famous "Commercial Propositions." He had the misfortune to find, that commercial jealousy rendered all his good wishes abortive. The manufacturers of Lancashire petitioned against them: Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, innumerable other places petitioned against them. Whatever were their wisdom, (and many thought them wise) the popular voice opposed the minister; and he found himself obliged to abandon them. On the question of the Regency, Ireland differed from Britain: the two parliaments pursued opposite courses. As national opinions stood, or as the constitution of each country was interpreted in each, possibly, they might both be right; but the necessity of preventing another such difference, demonstrated the urgency of a consolidation of opinion, power, interest, and constitutional feeling. On these subjects, abating a certain kind of vehemence, which rather opposes than promotes conviction, (for conviction is the result of reason, not of passion) the speeches of Mr. Grattan contain much that is deserving of attention; but their relevancy is gone by; and we presume that the benefits of which they were capable, have long ago attended them.

There remains one very embarrassing subject, however, treated on in this volume, we mean Tithes, the importance of which is undiminished; and the duty of affording relief to a suffering population is no less imperious than ever it was. Most heartily do we wish that the various interests which form the Gordian knot on this occasion, if they cannot be untwisted, should be cut for the good of Ireland, by the sword of public justice and wisdom. We do not credit Mr. G. when he asserts that the clergy "*rioted* on the comforts, the peace, and the feelings" of their people: nor that they revelled in "*luxuries*" while those who supported them were starving. But when he produces instances of tithe taxation which grind the poor to dust, and emphatically oppress those by penury oppressed already, we lift up our hands in astonishment, that this evil should still continue, should still baffle all the wisdom, the humanity, and the political skill in Ireland. Yet the dif-

ficulties of really relieving the poor of the nation, are either naturally or artificially great. No alteration seems to alleviate their lot. What can be the cause of this? Where is the real root of the evil? When "after the year 1760, an epidemic [epizootic] disease raged among the cattle—an immediate *rise* took place in the value of lands in Ireland:" then the peasantry were reduced to desperation. When after the American war, an extraordinary *fall* in land took place—the people were equally distressed, and equally loud in their complaints. Mr. G. will be quoted as authority for saying, that the peasant hired land at £7 per acre, rent, but received only *six-pence* per day for his labour; and that he paid in addition to his rent from *eight* to *twelve shillings* per acre, tithe. He affirms, that in some instances the tithe demanded exceeded the rack-rent of the land: that £14 has been paid for 11 acres, the rent of which was only £11 11s. That where a man's income was only *five pounds*; the rector has demanded *twelve* or *sixteen shillings* tithe (per acre) on potatoes, which he cultivated for his food. In a year of *scarcity*, the land has been tithed as it *should have yielded*;—and *famine price* was the rate at which that *ideal* produce was charged.

As a specimen of this impressive orator's manner, we select, therefore, a part of his argument on this subject. It is to be hoped, that the facts selected are those which were considered as most striking, because most extraordinary; and that however heavy the weight of tithes, as a manner of supporting the clergy may be felt,—generally felt; yet that such iniquity as Mr. G. exposes is *rare*—we wish we might venture to say *singular*. If it be frequent—but we repel the thought!

The farming of any revenue is a pernicious idea. It is the practice of absolute kings, who, anxious about their riches, and careless about their people, get a fixed income from some desperate adventurer, and then let loose on the community this animal of prey, at once destitute of remorse, and armed with authority.

In free countries such a practice is not permitted. You would not allow it to the king, and you ought not to allow it to the church. It is an evil in politics, but a scandal in religion; and the more dangerous in the latter. Tithe being indefinite, the latitude of extortion is indefinite. The use of the Tithe farmer is to get from the parishioner, what the

parson enable his duties summa liveliho general pounce Lord. shepher sense— parson.

Here farmer money. That ti more, a of a po he had parishes good un to pay farmer tion, an prevent sition; Tithe-fa cursed v dent cle who sh blacksm two vul ing ques himself who ha them fro a parish no rector the who Protesta £50 a y turbed b it in son him. I rish mad ing agree £800 a will give lectors a ving, the and the parishioner curity, pa for their £120; t more you you will people, an been com the forme latter; n which ma tune, his he puts hi

parson would be ashamed to demand, and to enable the clergyman to absent himself from his duty—the powers of the Tithe-farmer are summary laws and Ecclesiastical Courts—his livelihood is extortion—his rank in society is generally the lowest, and his occupation is to pounce on the poor, in the name of the Lord. He is a species of wolf, left by the shepherd to take care of the flock in his absence—he fleeces both, and begins with the parson.

Here Mr. Grattan stated that the Tithe-farmer seldom got less than one fourth of the money collected; but sometimes one-third. That there were instances where he got even more, and had reduced the parson to the state of a poor pensioner, on his own living.—That he had heard, that in one of the disturbed parishes, the parish had wished to come to a good understanding with the clergyman, and to pay him in person, but that the Tithe-farmer had obstructed such an accommodation, and had, by his mercenary intervention, prevented concord, moderation and composition; parishes were not only subject to one Tithe-farmer, but, in some cases, were cursed with a legion of them. A non-resident clergyman shall employ a Tithe-farmer, who shall set the Tithes over again to two blacksmiths, who go among the flock like two vultures. A Tithe-farmer shall, on being questioned, give the following account of himself: that he held the Tithes from one, who had them from an officer, who held them from a clergyman who did not reside in a parish where there were resident no dean, no rector, no vicar, no school-master; where the whole business of Christianity, on the Protestant side, was transacted by a curate at £50 a year; and as the parish has been disturbed by the Tithe-farmer or proctor, so has it in some cases been quieted in getting rid of him. I have known a case, where the parish made with their clergyman the following agreement.—Sir, we pay your proctor, £800 a year, and he gives you £600.—We will give you £600, and become your collectors and your security." In another living, the parish paid the proctor £450 a year, and the proctor paid the parson £300. The parishioners became the collector and the security, paid the clergyman £300 a year, took for their trouble £30 and eased the parish of £120; the consequence was peace; and the more you investigate this subject, the more you will find that the disturbance of the people, and the exactions of the church, have been commensurate—and that the peace of the former has attended the moderation of the latter; nor is it only the excess of exaction which makes the Tithe-farmer a public misfortune, his mode of collection is another scourge: he puts his charges into one or more notes,

payable at a certain time; if not then discharged, he serves the countryman with a summons, charging him 6d. for the service, and 1s. for the summons; he then sometimes puts the whole into a Kerrybond or instrument, which bears interest—he then either keeps the bond over his head, or issues out execution, and gets the countryman's body and goods completely into his power: to such an abuse is this abominable practice carried, that in some of the southern parts of Ireland, the peasantry are made tributary to the Tithe farmer; draw home his corn, his hay, and turf—for nothing; give him their labour, their carts, and their horses, at certain times of the year—for nothing. These oppressions not only exist, but have acquired a formed and distinct appellation—tributes; tributes to extortioners! tributes paid by the poor, in the name of the Lord! To oppression we are to add intoxication, the drunkenness and idleness which not seldom attend the method in which the Tithe-farmer settles his accounts with the poor parishioners devoted to his care; the place in which he generally settles these accounts, makes his bargains, and transacts his business—is the alehouse:—he sometimes, I am told, keeps one himself, or he has a relation who gets a licence to sell ale and spirits—because his friend is employed by the church, and will bring him custom!!!

Do you, gentlemen, sign your leases in the alehouse? What should you think of a steward who made your tenants drunk, when he should collect your rents? and what should a clergyman think of his tithe-farmer, who made his flock drunk, when he collected or settled his Tithes, and bathed in whiskey this precious offering, this primeval property, held by some to be the very essence of religion, and not only most ancient, but divine?

Here let me return to, and repeat the allegations, and call on you once more to make the inquiry. It is alleged, that in certain parishes in the south, tithe has been demanded and paid, for what, by law, was not liable to tithe; and that the Ecclesiastical Courts have countenanced the illegal exaction; and evidence is offered at your bar to prove the charge on oath.

Will you deny the fact? Will you justify the fact? Will you enquire into it?

It is alleged, that tithe proctors, in certain parishes of the south, do exact fees for agency, oppressive and illegal; and evidence to prove the charge is offered on oath.

Will you deny the fact? Will you justify the fact? Will you enquire into it?

It is alleged, that in certain parishes of the south, tithes have been excessive, and have observed no equity for the poor, the husband-

man, or the manufacturer; and evidence is offered to prove this charge on oath.

Will you deny the fact? Will you justify the fact? Will you inquire into it?

It is alleged, that in certain parishes of the south, ratages for tithes have greatly and unconscionably increased; and evidence is offered to prove this charge on oath.

Will you deny the fact? Will you justify the fact? Will you inquire into it?

It is alleged, that in certain parishes of the south, tithe-farmers have oppressed, and do oppress, his majesty's subjects, by various extortions, abuses of law, or breaches of the same, and evidence is offered to prove this on oath.

Here, once more, I ask you, will you deny the fact? Will you justify the fact? Will you inquire into it?

I should not wish to give the ministers of the Gospel less than they have at present, except in some cases of hardship and extortion; but suppose some of them did receive less, would the Church fall? The importance and the difficulty of accuracy on this question are both over-rated.

The objection of impracticability, against a commutation is but a pretence, and against a *modus* is not even a pretence; or is it impracticable to inquire into the present ratages, and on that information to proceed? If so, if this step is impracticable, the abuses that grow out of Tithes are incurable; and then you ought to reject the system of Tithes as an incorrigible evil, and recur to another mode of paying your clergy. If a *modus* is impossible, a commutation is necessary.

We are too apt to conceive public cares impracticable—every thing bold and radical, in the shape of public redress, is termed impracticable.

I remember when a Declaration of Right was thought impracticable—when the independency of the Irish Parliament was thought impracticable—when the establishment of a Free Trade was thought impracticable—when the restoration of the Judicature of our Peers was thought impracticable—when an exclusion of the Legislative Power of the Council was thought impracticable—when a limited Mutiny-bill, with Irish articles of war in the body of it, and the Declaration of Right in its front, was thought impracticable—when the formation of a Tenantry-bill, for securing to the tenantry of Ireland their leasehold interest, was thought impracticable—and yet those things have not only come to pass, but form the base on which we stand. Never was there a country to which the argument of impracticability was less applicable than to Ireland.

Ireland is great capacity not yet brought

into action—much has been civilized, much has been reclaimed, but something is to be redressed;—the lower orders of the people claim your attention—the best husbandry is the husbandry of the human creature.—What! can you reclaim the tops of your mountains, and cannot you improve your people? Every animal, except the tyger (as I have heard) is capable of being reclaimed—the method is to feed, to feed after a long hunger;—you have with your own peasantry begun the process, and you had better complete the experiment.

“Inadequate! inadequate!” interposes the advocate for exaction; “the rich will intercept the relief intended by Parliament.”

This objection supposes the condition of the peasantry to be poor in the last degree—it supposes that condition to arise from various complicated causes; low price of labour, high price of land, number of absentees, and other causes; and it refers the poor to the hangman for regulation, and to Providence for relief; and it justifies this abandonment of one part of the community, by a criminalation of the other: on a surmise that the upper orders of men in this country are complete extortioners, and would convert abatement of tithe into increase of rent, and thus intercept the justice of Parliament.—Here I must absolutely and instantly deny the fact; the landlords are not as described; expensive frequently, I allow; but an hospitable, a humane, and affectionate people—the genius of the Irish nation is affection—the gentlemen are not extortioners by nature, nor (as the Tithe farmer is) by profession. In some cases they do set their land too high, in many not, and on that head they are daily becoming more reasonable.

The subjects discussed in this volume, are those connected with—Mr. Orde's Propositions—the debate on national economy—that on pensions—that on the navigation act for Ireland—tithes—the riot act—the address to the Marquis of Buckingham—the regency—and the bill for disabling revenue officers from voting at elections for members of parliament. On all these questions Mr. G. was a leading opposer of the ministry; and this character contributed to his distinction. The arguments of his adversaries must not be looked for in this volume—though occasionally a few words are allotted to them, for the purpose of introducing his reply. We cannot, therefore, venture to give an opinion on the supremacy of his reasonings, as that demands an acquaintance with the cogency of those employed by the other side; which are not before us.

The Customs of London, otherwise called Arnold's Chronicle; containing among divers other matters, the original of the celebrated Poem of the Nut Brown Maid. Reprinted from the first Edition, with the additions included in the second. 210. Rivingtons, &c. London: 1811.

AMONG those works which do most honour to the modern press, and to modern booksellers, by whom they are supported, a distinguished place is occupied by that edition of the *Chronicles* of our country, which is still in progress for the purpose of presenting copies of those scarce and dear books, at a moderate price. Hall, Hollinshed, Grafton, Leland, Dagdale, Camden, Speed, Stowe and others, of about the same age, may be called our *original* historians; in as much as they derived their information from sources, now entirely closed against us. They had access to documents of which but a portion is preserved, and that as it were by chance; and under the keys of the curious. They had authorities more in number, perhaps, than appears in their works; since some might be only consulted by them for confirmation, of what they found in others; and in many instances, they had an additional resource in tradition of which later ages are entirely deprived. The destruction of documents that took place during the civil wars, is exceedingly to be regretted; it was but too general; while accidental conflagrations, pilferings, and other means of defalcation, though local, have contributed to diminish the stock of instructive materials, which has escaped the violence of intentional mischief. No more originals can be made; but we may suffer the loss of what remain: they may be defaced, abused, or mutilated, designedly or undesignedly and thereby be rendered of little value. The multiplication of copies by the press, counteracts this waste; and the re-impression of copies, become almost as scarce as manuscripts, is at once a service to national literature; and a strong proof of national spirit. It is well known also, that authors in conducting repeated editions of their works through the press, make alterations, which are not always improvements, but follow the impulse of principles, rather from necessity than

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choice; of which the castrations of Hollinshed are a proof.

It is, therefore, sometimes, highly desirable to obtain the *first* edition of a work, for the purpose of comparison; to lay no stress on the individual satisfaction of an editor; and in this view our modern students of black letter lore, who suffer no worm eaten coverings to rest in peace, until after a thorough examination, are extremely useful persons. They dig the mines whence that ore is extracted to which others give the proper form and polish. They have brought to light documents and facts, of which ignorance was no disgrace, nevertheless, the possession of them increases our satisfaction. Life with its occupations, might, no doubt, have proceeded, had they continued unknown, yet only those who see in life, no object beyond the stupefaction of the grosser appetites, can deny the gratifications of liberal knowledge, and the pleasures it opens to our understanding and intellect.

Sometimes, too, their evidence is important. We have known trials at bar determined on such antiquary reference; and rights supported, which only our old chronicles could support; and by passages which, only those conversant with them *ex animo* could adduce. Since then we speak feelingly, on the utility of early printed works, we cannot but approve of every endeavour to enlarge the acquaintance of the public with those which contain matter of history, or of record. Such is the volume before us; though not indeed, one of the most necessary. It appears to have been originally a miscellaneous collection of articles transcribed into a kind of common place book, without selection, or fixed purpose. Such repositories were much in vogue formerly; and some of them contain among a mass of insignificant jumble, more particular or precise notices, of events, than can readily be found elsewhere.

We conjecture also, that the compiler, when his book went to press, stood in need of assistance of a description easily guessed at, for which the intended volume furnished a plausible pretext; and though without a list of subscribers prefixed, yet it exhibits symptoms of no shallow design on the pockets of the wealthy citizens of London, and of those among their ap-

prentices, who were looking forward to the occupation of dignities,—envied dignities! in the possession of their masters. To such the *duty* as well as advantage of a perfect acquaintance with city privileges, would prove a persuasive topic, while the memoranda of history it contains, and the injunctions of the church, would recommend it to the pious and sedate—not less than a modern *Prospectus* now recommends “the Grand Imperial History of England,” or “the Christian’s sure Guide to Heaven,”—*necessary for all families.*

The editor acknowledges that Arnold’s work has but slight pretensions to the appellation of a Chronicle: it has sometimes been called “the Customs of London,” they forming its principal subject. “It is in fact,” says he, “an extraordinary medley of information, consisting of a list of the mayors and other officers; of charters, municipal regulations, assizes of bread, legal and mercantile forms and documents, family and other receipts, with some few historical matters; the whole being adapted to the particular and more immediate use of the citizens of London.” But little of it is original, apparently, being transcribed from other works; except certain pieces most probably presented to the author, among which may be placed the exquisite poem of the Nut Brown Maid. The editor thinks it likely that some Englishman dwelling at Antwerp (where the first edition was printed) took the ideas of a German ballad on this subject, then extremely popular—or was prompted to write an imitation of it, for the delight of his own countrymen. That it is the production of a female pen, as the editor conjectures, we see no proof: and we believe that history has not preserved the name of any “polished and romantic female,” who in these beautiful stanzas, could “tell her own story.” There is in the works of Bebelius, Poet Laureat to the Emperor Maximilian I. originally printed at Paris in 1516, 2to a Latin poem, intitled, “Vulgaris Cantio,” professedly translated from an old German ballad, which much resembles this poem; and that German ballad, *might* be the original. This gives for its date the beginning of the sixteenth century; and much earlier it could not be. The first edition of Arnold was printed at Antwerp, apparently by John Doesborowe, in, or soon after 1520. The se-

cond edition about 1520, or 1521. The value of first editions is fairly inferred by the editor, when he observes, “Had the worthy author of that truly elegant work, the History of the Deanery of Craven, been aware of the first edition of Arnold’s Chronicle, he would not, in all probability, have adopted the conjecture that Lord Henry Clifford was the hero of the Nut Brown Maid.”

This volume, then, claims notice as a literary curiosity; but it may be rendered useful if considered as describing—not the manners only, but the feelings of the time in which the author lived. From the recorded denunciation of “one Luther” as an “eretyck, at Powly’s crosse, and all his bokes burnyd,”—from the attention paid to church dues, and revenues,—and from the opportunity taken to display and recommend the spiritual advantages obtainable at Rome, pardons, &c., there can be no doubt of the author’s Catholicism; yet his book seems to afford evidence of a spirit striving among the people, in opposition to the encroachments of the clergy, at least; but probably too, with a determination of persevering in that course of enquiry, which at length proved fatal to Popery. So we find one Robert Wright, “of the parish of St. Edmond in Lumber stret,” who was willing to pay his dues for the Sundays in the year, but not to offer for the “solempne and double fests and the fests of Seit Steuen, Johñ, and Innocenty, after Crystmes, Circumcision Epyhe of our Lord, iij holy daies in Esir weke, iij holy daies in Witson wike Corpus Xpi Ascencion of our Lord, Phelip and Jacob and v festis of our Lady and everi dedicaciõ day.”—Being condemned he appealed to Rome, to the Pope himself, who confirmed his condemnation.

That the character of the clergy was then but dubious, appears from a public instrument presented to the governors of the city, in which the citizens request,—

“Also to thentent that the ordre of priesthod be had in few reverence according to the dignite thereof, and that none occasions of Incontinence growe bee the familyarite of secular people. Please it my Lorde Mayr Aldirmen and Comon Counseyll to enacte, that noo maner persone beving free of this citee, take receuye and kepe from hensisforth any priest in comons, or to boorde by the daye weke moneth or yere or any other

terme more or lesse vpon peine ther vpon to be lymstyd, provided that this acte extende not to any prieste retayned wyth a citezen in familiar housholde.

Also please it my Lorde Mayre Aldyrmyn and Comon Counseyle, that a communication may be had wyth the curatis of this cite for oblacions whiche they clayme to have of citezens agaynst the tenour of the bulle purchased att their owne instance, and that it maye bee determined and an ende taken wher vpon the citezens shall rest.

This prohibition of the clergy from residence in private houses, has all the appearance of severe censure:—what appellation is due to their demanding more than they had themselves stipulated for, we leave undetermined. By the bye, the contents of that part of this volume, which is entitled, "The booke Pardon of Rome granted be dyners Popes and the Staciōs that ben there," is in the highest degree libellous on the church of Rome of the present day: for either such superstitious principles are still retained; and then it may fairly be demanded on what rational authority they rest? or, if they be now relinquished in consequence of better knowledge, it may be asked, in what sense are we to understand those champions of the church who affirm that every *fat and tittle* of it is now the same as ever it was,—unmoved—unmoveable? Can we, for instance, believe of "the chirche of Saint Sebastian wythout the towne," that in that place is "forgefnes of all synnes and all penaunce?" Also that

Att the hygh auter is graunted xxvij C. yere of pardon, and as many karyns. And who that cometh too the fyrste auter that stonndith in the Chirche hath xxiiij C. yere of pardon, and there is a gellare or a vaute, there lyeth buried xlix Popes that dyed alle martyrs, whooso comyth fyrst to that place delyvereth vij soules out of purgatory of such as he most desyreth, and as moche pardon therto, that all the worlde can not nombre nor reken, and every Sunday ye delyver there a soule out of purgatory. And in that sellar stonndyth a pytt there Saynt Peter and Saynt Poule were hyd in CC.l. yere that noo man wist where the were becom, and who that puttith his hed into that pytt and takyth it out agayne is cleue of all synnes.

Will any delegate of Catholic power, whose word is not retractable, favour us with information whether this miraculous pytt stonndyth in its old place? and whether ALL that puttith her heds into that

pytt are sure of takyng hem out agayne, *in statu quo*? For certes, mirth it were it to see, a corps of reviewers that we could name, surrounding this said pytt, with all her synnes xpi her heds, and all her heds, Ducking—Ducking—Ducking—Mercy on us!!

We acknowledge, indeed, freely enough that this miraculous pytt if extant, may retain the virtue of forgiving sins, as strongly as ever it had it; and so far we are good Catholics;—but being accustomed to examine things to the bottom, we could be glad of circumstantial information on the dimensions and depth of this cavity, before we trust our heds in it, lest we also should be hyd there. CC.l. yere—and what is the public to do for Panoramic lucubrations in the mean time?—or who will warrant what kind of a world we shall open our eyes on, when restored to life, light and liberty from our marvellous mansion?

If this writer may be credited, the city was pestered with beggars before the dissolution of monasteries: the tradesmen were covetous of illicit gain; the merchants sorted and marked their wares dextrously for their own profit; the officers dealt underhandedly in the goods they inspected; the brewers did not fill their vessels, and the purchasers "had gret losse—and also the ale and byere haue palled and were nought."—What worse can be said of our own times, under all the ponderosity of modern taxation? It is true we have no "ferthing symnell [bread] poise xv vncis and di. q. t. or ferthing whis loof coket poise xvij vnc. di. and ob."—Neither have we such requisitions per force of workmen, or in the words of the text, "excessis takyng of mason, carpenters, tylers, dawbers, and other laborers, for her dayly journeyes,—so that there were kast mani heuyssis and cedicious billis, updir the namys of such laborers, thretyng and rising wyth many M. and manasing the statis of the londe."—What were these but *Luddites*? and their "gaderings," but *twistings*? Alas for the unruly passions of men in those days! and not of men only if the charge implied in one of the "Articles of good governaunce of the Cite of London," be not a scandalous, malicious, and false accusation.

Also ye shall enquire yf there bee putter comon hasardur contrary in myntener of quarrels champertour embracers of questis or other

comon misdoers be dwellyng wythin the warde. Also yf any stewe of men drawe any comon women of euyl name or to any women stewe be drawyng any suspecious me or yonge men or any mannes prentis is of euyl name or condycion.

Under such a disorderly police, what could be the state of society in the metropolis—and what in the nation at large?

Voyages and Travels, in the years 1809, 1810, and 1811; containing Statistical, Commercial, and Miscellaneous Observations on Gibraltar, Sardinia, Sicily, Malta, Serigo, and Turkey. By John Galt. Qto. pp. 450. Cadell and Davies, London, 1812.

THE escape of Buonaparte from the fangs of the "barbarous" Russians, places within possibility the fulfillment of those expectations which mark him as the executioner of vengeance (— his last exploit) on the Ottoman power. That power it has long been thought, by the most accomplished statesmen, is verging to its close. Decrepitude has been its character; confusion its condition. Its interior weakness has forced conviction on all who beheld, and all joined in asserting that nothing but a formidable foe was wanting to the consummation of its fate, and the dissolution of its polity.—And yet, it has met foreign enemies, and repelled them; it has endured internal commotions, and survives them; it maintains still a haughty and imposing brow; and whether Buonaparte with his legions may be able to overthrow it (although he may be the instrument of punishing it,—at an incalculable hazard to himself,) is more than the most prescient can undertake to disclose.

The perswasion that Turkish weakness is masked by the fierce countenance its government occasionally assumes, by the savage manners of its chiefs, and its obdurate indifference to the covert enmity of its thousands of bondmen, called subjects, gives a lively interest to authentic accounts of the country and the people—an interest certainly not diminished by recent events. We are, therefore, naturally induced to wish for the latest observations published by those who have witnessed the real state of this singular empire.

The different talents of men qualify

them for the examination of objects on different sides. Some penetrate deeply into the political and artificial conduct of a state: others scrutinize most strictly the moral condition of a people, and read the effect of moral causes in their character, conduct, and progress. Such as are familiar with history, trace the rise of nations, and the consequences of manners properly their own, while fresh, and acting with their full impulse. They compare these original powers, with their present state, whether maintained in full vigour, or disabled by indifference. They may be dormant, perhaps torpid; or, the course of events may have deprived them of their original suitability to the time; and they are no longer moving powers; but dead weights, clogging the political machine. The ordinary course of a nation as of an individual, is from adolescence to maturity, and from maturity to hopeless decay. Few are the constitutions of government, which possess a renovating power within themselves; which, after tottering with the weakness of age, can revive with the vigour of manhood. The Turkish empire, we are well assured, does not possess that power. It seems almost to have answered the purposes of its existence. Its destiny seems to hang on the tenuity of a single life. The present Sultan has no brother to support his throne:—uncles or nephews it were contrary to Turkish maxims to endure. He had a son, an infant, but death removed him ere his year of existence was completed; and once more the Imperial Mahmoud is reduced to be the sole hope of his race; the last of the posterity of Othman! This is one danger, and a great danger it is, of the Turkish dominion. The arts of peace, never were so cherished among the Turks, that their improvement or their deterioration, should afford evidence entitled to much dependence. The temper and feelings of those whom their ancestors subjected, and whom they continue to hold in subjection, justifies closer attention. And this, more especially, if those institutions which were the depositaries of Turkish strength, now languish in that panting supineness, which marks a confirmed asthenia, if not an incurable paralysis. Amid the convulsions of modern times, the overthrow of empires, apparently much stronger than the Turkish, the ruin in which some are involved, the accumu-

lated sufferings of others, and the feverish and uncertain existence of more, there is something remarkable in the continuance and condition of this power. For certain it is, that if the military spirit of the Janissaries be lost, or extinguished, the robust race which it was the object of that corps to embody is not extinct; it may still invigorate some other institution. If the point of honor be no more their boast, and their discipline no longer acts with that irresistible impetus which rendered them the dread of every opponent, yet some new device may revive the same fury in another form; and valour supported by strength may again distinguish the sanguinary combatants under the banner of the Crescent. We have also suggested the possibility that this nation may again produce some leader conspicuous for talent and good fortune, who may enforce that obedience which seems to be the main spring wanting, and give a new aspect to the political importance of the Moslems. Who will succeed the last of the Ottoman race when he falls?—not the puny, not the feeble minded, but the chief, whose heart is adamant, and whose nerves are steel; who disperses rivals with his frowns, or his blows, as the chaff is dispersed before the wind: who feels his prowess his security, yet employs craft, and inseparably interweaves resolution with finesse.—Who shall say whether such an one shall not direct his fury against the enemies of the true faith, and revive those wars for conquest and plunder which formerly rendered the name of *Turk*! terrific to the utmost bounds of the Christian world. Shall this be in our time?—None can answer the question. Mahmoud yet lives. He may yet leave a successor whose infant hand may grasp the Ottoman sceptre. There may yet be a center of loyalty to true Believers. Nevertheless, these considerations excite desires for further acquaintance with the present state of this empire, including its connections; and the rather as Buonaparte has certainly marked it, as an object of his visitation;—for such is the correct interpretation of his professions of friendship!

Mr. Galt therefore must excuse us, if we pass over his account of Gibraltar, and of Sardinia, his adventures in Sicily, his censure of its antiquities, his instances of its modern barons, who pilfer purses to obtain bread, his opinion on its constitu-

tion and character:—nor shall we be detained by his observations on Malta—his objections to the admission of American traders [now done away, by the war with their country]—or his reasonings on the importance of the island as a British station [more might be said on this; and in stronger terms]—but we shall jump at once to the article “Turkey,” and dismiss the previous chapters of his work with this allusion to their contents. The first place is due to the Sultan; for much depends on him. His predecessor, Selim, with just views of things, and the best intentions, would sit down and weep over the state of his empire. He saw and felt as a benevolent mind would feel. He fell. Has a superior mind succeeded him?

Sultan Mahmoud is universally allowed to possess an inflexible mind; and though only about thirty years of age, to display as much practical talent and knowledge of mankind as his counsellors. His complexion is pale, his eye thoughtful and penetrating, and his physiognomy indicates a reserved nature; but there is a melancholy cast in the general expression of his countenance, that is interesting, and rather, I think, conciliating.

Since his accession, his attention has been directed to, as he conceives, the means of recovering the former authority and power of the Sultans. But the world is changed. Instead of seeking the restoration of that awful obedience, with which the firmans of his ancestors were executed like divine fiat, his efforts might be more fruitfully employed on some new plan of rule better adapted to the state of opinion among his subjects. To cure the corruptions of the government is impossible; and the last of the Ottomans, by his individual attempts, is, perhaps, only accelerating his own doom.

The Turks can no longer be regarded as a military nation; nor, by the nature of things, can the spirit which animated their ancestors, be recalled. The system which the Sultan has adopted may be regarded not only as founded in an erroneous conception of the moral and political state of his own empire, but also of that of the world. To aim at the introduction of discipline among his troops cannot but be esteemed laudable; but, attempting to accomplish this by the espionage of familiars, and the rapid and mysterious execution of orders for exile or death, deserves another name. Mahmoud is constitutionally religious. He is said to have an unsuspecting faith in the eternal and triumphant destiny which Mahomet promised to his successors. In the traditions and tales which he has heard, as the histories of his nation, it is not likely that he was informed, that his ancestors were neither

descendants nor successors of the prophet; although this notion seems to have acquired unimpaired credit in the minds of the Turks.

The following anecdotes, as Mr. Galt intends, may assist in illustrating the character of Sultan Mahmoud.

It is remarkable, that, notwithstanding the boundless polygamy allowed to the sultans, Mahmoud is the last of his family; and on the throne, at a time when the common opinion of the world is, that the Turks must speedily abandon their European empire.

Among various anecdotes that I have heard of Mahmoud, the following, as tending to illustrate his character, and the condition of the state, are the most worthy of being repeated. When about to mount his horse, in order to be inaugurated, the chief of the janizaries, according to the duty of his office, advanced to hold the stirrup: "Let it alone," said the sultan, "I ought rather to hold yours."

Hearing lately that there was a seditious murmuring among the janizaries, he went secretly at night to the quarters of the officers, and calling them before him, said, that he was informed of their mutinous spirit, and to take care that he heard no more of it. For the time, this decisive conduct produced the desired effect.

When the fleet returned last winter, from the Black Sea, it came in unexpectedly. The sultan, fearing that there had been a battle, went at midnight in his barge, to satisfy himself.

There is another anecdote told of him of a different complexion. An innocent showman had a buffoon whom he used to dress and shew to the Turks, as a speaking bear. The sultan hearing of so surprising an animal, commanded it to be brought to the palace. He appeared highly amused, and requested the keeper to sell it; this, however, the keeper managed to refuse; his majesty then desired that it might be left for a day or two for his amusement, and he ordered it to be placed in a cage among his other wild beasts, where it was offered no food, but only raw heads and bloody bones, for three days, at the end of which the bear was dismissed.

The naval power of the Turkish empire has not received particular notice from our traveller. It might nevertheless, he remarked, in passing, that the navy of the Sultans, was formerly predominant in the Levant, and greatly assisted their arms. Let Rhodes, Candia, and Malta witness its efficiency: and though defeated at the battle of Lepanto, yet we hardly know how to conceive of those resources as to-

tally lost, to this empire, which could enable it to fit out a fleet so formidable, as that destroyed by "the Man sent from God, whose name was John!" as the Pope exclaimed on receiving the news of the victory obtained by Don John of Austria.

Mr. G. was more attentive to the army. But we regret exceedingly, that when almost within telescope distance of the grand Turkish army, then in operation against the Russians, our traveller did not acquaint himself by inspection, what is the true composition and probable power of such an assemblage.

To judge from the different countries whence a Turkish army is derived, from the different races of men, which compose it, from that spirit of insubordination which pervades it, and from such remains of feudal usages as it presents, we can entertain but a mean opinion of its real strength. Yet if it be this heterogeneous mass,—in which all travellers agree, its officers deserve more than common credit, for baffling by such incompetent means the designs of its enemies. At such troops the Austrians have been staggered; and before such troops the Russians have retreated. If this were not due to the army, it was due to their commanders; and if to the commanders, what may they not become, under invigorating discipline and management? The difference between the *brut* matter, and the quickening spirit, must explain this discrepancy.

In the meanwhile we subjoin what descriptions of the Turkish military are afforded by Mr. G.

The first is an accidental rencontre.

When we had reached the lower part of the forest, we met a band of armed men, the chief of whom commanded us to halt and alight. It was the governor of Belkosa and his guards, going to inspect a post in the neighbourhood. Vilhi Pashaw's Tartar immediately untied his portmanteau, and presented him with a ring from his master, and a letter, in which I was recommended to his protection. The governor had, in the mean time, seated himself on the ground. Putting the ring on his little finger, he began to read the letter. Suddenly, a blast of wind came roaring through the wood, shaking the whole wintry weight from the trees, and covering us all so quickly and profusely, that I began to fear that we were involved in the beard or tail of an avalanche. The governor having disencumbered himself from his pe-

lisse of snow, and read the letter, after the usual Turkish salutations, took his inkstand from his girdle, and wrote instructions to his second in command, to furnish me with guards as far as Kaarabom, to the commandant of which the Tartar had another ring and a letter. He then mounted, and we also pursued our way.

The Turkish phrases of compliment and salutation are the same on all occasions. The second, which is delivered after a visitor has been seated a short time on the sofa, is an inquiry if he be comfortable. The governor of Belkofa was too polite a personage to omit it; so stroking down his breast, as he was sitting in snow as high as his head, he inquired, with all possible gravity, in a tone of hope, if I was comfortable? The snow was up to my middle!

This gravity is national: the following portrait of Vilhi Pashaw is personal.—

He is, says Mr. G. one of the most extraordinary among the Turks:

In his manner he is singularly agreeable, and, with a strong dash of humour, is eminently shrewd and cunning. He is a great admirer of European customs, and professes to have a high esteem for the British, to whom, on all occasions, he has shewn a marked and flattering partiality. He speaks several languages, and has some pretensions to taste. He has ordered Pausanias to be rendered into the Romain Greek; and, in passing to the war, visited the antiquities of Athens, in order to see, as he declared himself, these remains and monuments which attract so many Europeans so far from home. To individual distress, he is tender and generous; he is a liberal and indulgent master; and his residence in the Morea has been distinguished for vigour and impartiality in the administration of public justice. But, opposed to these qualities, he is said to be abandoned to the most seditious appetites. The extortions of his government have been carried to an incredible extent. It is related, that, on one occasion, when the Greeks assured him that they could pay no more, he remarked, that they had not yet brought in their perforated chequins, meaning those which the women are in the practice of wearing round their necks, and as ornaments for their hair. It is unnecessary to relate any of the many instances of sorrow and misery which have arisen from his unbridled appetite and remorseless extortion.

Before his departure from Tripolizza, it was proposed to him, by several of the old Turks, to massacre a number of the Greeks, in revenge for those who are serving in the Russian armies; but he rejected the atrocious proposition with the indignation that it deserved, and ordered the framers of it to ac-

company him to the war, with all their followers. I have heard this anecdote frequently mentioned, and I believe it is true. He has left the Morea entirely free of robbers, but he has also reduced it to a state of great poverty. Where nothing is left to be stolen, there is little merit in extirpating the few that would steal. Nor will the personal security of an occasional traveller, ever be valued as an equivalent for the extensive desolation that ensues it.

Vilhi Pashaw was afterwards found by our author in Sophia, with about 15,000 men; and was supposed to have under his command, at least 50,000; but the corps of a Turkish army, reckoned by the bannerets forming it, (which number is reported to the Sultan) is rarely or never complete.

The Turks have not the use of the bayonet, nor any weapon calculated to contend with it. The cavalry use a spear; but the Albanians, and the other foot soldiers, only muskets, swords, and pistols. By the state of their weapons, they are greatly inferior to the troops of Christendom; which, with their want of discipline, causes them, whatever may be their personal bravery, always to be defeated. In the whole of the war with Russia, down to the month of March last, they had not gained one single advantage.

The idea of the head quarters of a vizier, had, hitherto, stood in my mind magnified with all "the pomp and circumstance of glorious war." I had fancied that I should hear the continual clashing of cymbals, the clangor of trumpets, and the neighing of chargers superbly caparisoned. I expected to see the idle state of innumerable banners mocking the air, and a restless throng of gorgeous Agas. If I looked not for discipline, I counted on beholding an anarchy; and in approaching Sophia, actually began to patch together in my mind an imperfect recollection of that passage of the *Paradise Lost*, in which Milton describes the visit of Satan to Chaos, in order that I might have an apt and beautiful quotation, when I came to describe so magnificent a spectacle as a vizier's camp; but my journey was ordained to chastise me with disappointments. I saw, in Sophia, only a multitude of Albanians, as wild as the goats on their native mountains. Nor were the pistols in their belts, perhaps, more formidable weapons than the horns on the heads of the companions of their youth. Their dress was ragged, and as dirty as the dust. The clouts round their brows, as they walked, grinning, against the winter's wind, made them appear more like mad beggars than soldiers. Every thing about them indicated the filth and misery of prisoners, ra-

ther than the pomp and insolence of soldiers. While I was here, a grand salute was fired from the five helpless field pieces, of which his highness's park of artillery consisted, in honour of a great victory obtained over the Russians, near the confines of Persia. In proof of this victory it was affirmed, that three thousand heads of the vanquished slain were brought to Constantinople. What surprised me most was, that Vilhi Pashaw should have given countenance to this tale, and attached to it all the importance of a fact. He is a man neither unacquainted with the ways of the world, nor unskilled in human nature. When I saw him in the Morea, he was then at his ease; and he appeared facetious, shrewd, and greatly superior, in the general cast of his endowments, not only to any idea that I had formed of Turks in general, but in respect to a kind of dexterous mode of extracting opinions, to most men that I had ever met with. When I visited him here, he was the same kind of person, but considerably altered. He still retained his disposition to jocularity; but the colour of his mind appeared to have become graver. He was, now and then, serious, and directly inquisitive; a frame of temper which, contrasted with his natural gaiety, denoted anxiety and fear. Though his conversation was, occasionally, enlivened with sly questions about the different English travellers who had visited Tripolizza, he often reverted, with his natural address, to the state of Turkey in our estimation. He evidently seemed to think, that Turkey, alone, was not capable of effectually prosecuting the war. Nothing escaped from him that distinctly conveyed this opinion; but his manner, and the tendency of all his questions, warrant me in ascribing it to him. Nor could I forget, at the time, that he had himself said to me, twelve months before, in speaking about the Albanians taken into our service, that they would not be found capable of contending with disciplined christian troops. He is, unquestionably, a man of great natural talents; but his head is more-political than military.

That Vilhi Pashaw had sufficient reasons for gravity and anxiety, will appear from a succinct description of the kind of troops, under his command;—of this he could not but be conscious.

In riding from Bazerjeek, towards the pass which separates the ridges of Mount Hæmus from those of Rhodope, we halted at a small village, in order to warm our fingers, the air from the mountains, in the morning, having blown piercingly cold. To our utter astonishment, no one in the village was willing to admit us. Considering on what ground we were then treading, I might compare our supplications for entrance, to those of Or-

pheus for the restoration of Eurydice; but the churlishness of the peasants was owing to an event that checks the levity of fancy. The village, about ten days before, had been plundered by a party of Asiatic troops, passing to join the army of Vilhi Pashaw, and all the women, except three, were either carried away, or murdered: It is the custom of the Asiatic troops, on coming into Europe, to practise, on their fellow-subjects, all those outrages and aggressions which they mean should distress and afflict the enemy. Thrace and Bulgaria suffer as much from their defenders as from the actual ravages of war.

The duty and dignity of a soldier is protection of the weak, and support of the distressed. It is not the happiness of modern times to witness the prevalence of a strong sense of this dignity, among those who were honourably, were they justly, called the "defenders of their country."—But, in Turkey different principles prevail: insolence to the weak, and woe to the vanquished, are the predominant passions of those who bear the sword: they can be tyrants; whether or not they are soldiers.

In districts remote from the seat of war, the condition of the inhabitants is little better than amid the scenes of intentional devastation. Of this we transcribe two instances, similar in nature, and cruelty, but, unhappily, far enough from exciting astonishment by their rarity in the beautiful climate of Greece.

We arrived in sight of a rural village, pleasantly situated on the swell of a rising ground. The cottages were covered with bright red tiles, and their walls neatly whitewashed; the inclosures, and surrounding vineyards, were all in good order; and a decent church stood in an open field, at a little distance from the town. Our guide, being doubtful of the way, went to the village to enquire. He was long of returning, and we rode to its skirts in order to hasten him. As we approached, we were surprised at not hearing the stir of a living creature; and yet there was no appearance of waste or desolation. The guide returning, informed us that the village had, the week before, been deserted by all its inhabitants, except one old woman, who having no kindred to follow, chose to remain alone. The people had fled, with their cattle and money, to avoid an impost, beyond all their means of payment, which had been levied by Ali Pashaw. Not aware that the jurisdiction of this inflexible potentate had extended so far, we inquired how he had happened to attack this village, but were only informed that he thought the

inhabitants could pay. Leaving this melancholy monument of extortion, we turned into a dingle, where the path was frequently interrupted by underwood. The bushes, as we advanced, gradually approximated to the size of trees, and when we had got out of the hollow, we found ourselves in a forest, the open glades of which presented occasional views, that rivalled, in beauty, the prospects of an English park. The whole country here is, naturally, exceedingly beautiful; but the almost total solitude that prevails, had the effect, after the impression made on our minds by the Anburn of Attica, of rendering the ride very cheerless. Ascending from the woody vale, our road lay along the brows of the hills; from which we saw extensive tracts of the forest which had been desolated by fire, in order, as we were told, to destroy the wolves by which it is infested. It was sunset when we discovered the fortress of Carrababa, at such a distance, that we resolved to remain, for the night, at Dramis, a small village on the shore. It had also been, in a great measure, deserted: only one Greek family remained, by whom we were admitted, and treated with their best means. It would have been an insult to human kindness, after what we had seen and heard, to have grumbled at far inferior accommodation and fare.

At Platamo, a fortress seated on a promontory, we halted near the walls, to take some refreshment; for, without a firman, strangers are not permitted to enter the gates. The wall of a burying-ground served us for seats and table; but an incident arose, while we were there, that would have made us content with our condition, even though the place and fare had been worse. A Turkish officer, who happened also to be baiting near a fountain, observing a Greek passing, rose, and rudely seized him by the collar. On inquiring the cause of this apparently wanton outrage, we were informed, that the Greek belonged to a district where the Turk commanded; and, having been unable to pay a sum of money with which he had been taxed, removed secretly to this neighbourhood with his family. The female relations, and several of the neighbours, came round the Turk, and strongly intreated him to let the poor man go free; but, regardless of their intreaties he ordered his arms to be bound, and took him away as a culprit.

It might be thought, that usage of this kind, would rouse the people to opposition; but so it is, that the Greeks are a rope of sand; and such the French, who are endeavouring to combine them into compactness, will find them: light, inconsistent, fickle, heedless, they will disap-

point whoever trusts them. No confidence can be placed in a nation, the general character of which is that of being given to change; although exceptions may be discovered here and there, as here and there may be found men of talent, industry, and information.

Among the ruinous buildings of Mistra, several fragments of sculpture, the works of the classic antients, are seen. We were shewn a magnificent sarcophagus, adorned with figures, and the fruit and foliage of the vine. It serves as the trough to a fountain, and has been much defaced by the pitchers of the water carriers.—We called on the governor, a venerable looking old man, to whom we had letters from Antonbey. He received us with much courtesy, and entertained us, according to the custom of the Turks, with pipes and coffee. He also gave orders to the postmaster to furnish us with horses, and ordered a guard to attend us as far as Tripolizza. The apartment in which he was sitting, in company with several other Turks, was a fair specimen of the condition of the town. The windows were falling from the sashes; and the greatest part of the panes being broken, the vacancies were supplied with paper.—In returning from the government-house, we passed the archbishop of Lacedemon coming from church. He stopped, and invited us to his residence, where he also entertained us with pipes and coffee. We dined with him next day, and received a substantial ecclesiastical dinner. He is a respectable old man, and distinguished for the vigour with which he maintains his authority. He has a little humour, and afforded us some amusement; but I was much more diverted by an accidental truth that escaped from his brother, who is still more lively than the archbishop. On inquiring what might be the amount of the archiepiscopal income, he told us, that it was barely sufficient for the maintenance of the prelate; adding, if it pleased God to take away some of the priests and bishops of the province, the price of the new ones would enable him to live very comfortably. The situation of the palace (I do not know why a Greek archbishop's house may not be called a palace, and himself a Grace, as well as any other metropolitan) is singularly fine. It stands high, on the side of the hill on which the town is built, and commands a view of the whole long hollow valley of Sparta, the most fertile and beautiful tract of the Morea.—The archbishop kept two horses, both excellent and handsome, which Vilhi Pashaw hearing of, sent and took one of them away.

Such is the condition of the Greeks!—of the most respectable Greeks! and yet

our pages bear witness to repeated attempts of their literati to introduce knowledge among them, — the first rudiments of power; to efforts made by some to obtain acquaintance with foreign parts by travel, and to form connections which may be useful in case of emergency. The traffic now flourishing between Greece and the Austrian dominions combines consequences at least possible, beside those of mere mercantile accommodation. But, so divided are the Grecian interests, so separated their communities, so jealous their own officers of their own people, among themselves, so habituated are they to intrigue, and so impatient, that there scarcely seems to be any conception of the few guiding the many; and of the many placing confidence in the few. Despotism may oppress them; but when despotism ceases to act, they will not spring up to liberal and generous conduct. They will not unite in one common cause. Again, as when they lost Constantinople, each will think more of concealing his own treasure, than of defending the city walls; and their emperor may again perish in the breach, after having in vain begged from house to house for money to pay his troops. Again, as in the days of antiquity, they will be divided and subdivided into mere district authorities, and petty republics, without forming one imposing and stable mass, a body politic under one dominion; obeying the same impulse, and feeling the same ardour, throbbing through every vein. This is the security of their Turkish masters. Their policy divides and governs; it separates man from man, as effectually as that terrific system by which Buonaparte renders France at once odious and miserable; by which its citizens are fettered as slaves, and their sons sent to slaughter as conscripts: by which individuals are forced to fight in support of an authority they abhor; while the nation at large groans under that tyranny, which crushes all, by crushing each; and every one trembles too strongly for himself to bestow a thought on the condition of his country, while his heart abandoning itself to woe, embraces insensibility and despair, as welcome guests, or as inseparable inmates.—What a picture of human woe, occasioned by the insatiable anxieties and jealousies of tyranny!

A Translation of Glanville, by John Beames, Esq. of Lincoln's-Inn, Barrister at Law. To which are added Notes. 8vo. Pp. 416. Reed. London: 1812.

THE provisions of the Law of England, are undoubtedly part of the national history of the country, yet on account of a certain repulsive dryness, accompanying the study of them, the obscurity of their terms, and the fluctuation of their enactments, they are seldom accurately investigated, unless by professional men,—by those who desire to obtain the reputation of being profound lawyers. Yet laws may be contemplated either as consequences of the manners and disposition of the times, or as contributing to establish manners, by patronizing that order of sentiments, which the legislator deemed most advantageous to his country. Not seldom are laws enacted in compliance with popular opinion; which outruns the intention of the legislature; more frequently still are they the result of endeavours to controul and direct the flow of popular inclinations or feelings, or to repress injurious practices, which themselves mark the character of the age. By slow degrees is a nation brought off from habits however barbarous, and indulgencies however gross; the purification of manners is a gradual process; it will not be hurried; it cannot be effected by sheer force and violence; it demands much prefatory preparation, and vigilance, the happy art of seizing opportunities,—but hence we learn the prevailing sentiments of the people, and we estimate the wisdom and the skill of their rulers, in meeting and ameliorating them.

Accustomed as we are to the prevalence of reason and discussion, to an appeal to argument, in determining legal controversies, nothing surprises us so much as the notion of an appeal to power, in demonstration of rectitude. We are at a loss to discover the relation between proof of personal valour, and proof of the truth of an affirmation, or a denial. The prowess or skill of a champion, might haply have been obtained by either party: but truth is no such accommodating principle. Ranulph de Glanville has the credit of having been the first to devise means of breaking through that

irrational system of violence, by substituting the grand assize of the country; and directing enquiries supported by evidence and conscience, instead of arms. Could this be clearly evinced, it were, without other consideration, more than sufficient to justify our treating his memory with the utmost respect: to hold his name in everlasting remembrance, and, indeed, is to place him at the head of benefactors to their country.

However that might be, we conjecture that proof of courage was originally proper to cases in which courage was the subject impeached; and therefore to be justified by fact. There seems to be a fitness in repelling imputations of insufficiency and doubts of personal valour, by readiness to vindicate that valour in a trial at arms upon the spot. This could affect the soldiery only, and those who held by military service; though afterwards it was extended by a kind of unproved collusion, to other men and matters. That justice should be supported by a champion, and right and title to property be maintained by an armed man,—a deputy, sought out by the principal, for sturdiness not integrity, appears to us, the strangest of all strange proceedings in a Court of Law; and it requires all the evidence of history to confirm it. Unhappily, however, we have to this day, a remnant of the barbarous practice in those personal combats which mis-called gentlemen institute in vindication as they suppose of their honour. By what process the truth or falsity of an affirmation is cleared by the random shot of a pistol, we never could comprehend; or how the reference of such a question to the decision of the sword, should deprive the best swordsman of his acknowledged superiority, and place the contending parties on a level, (without which all idea of equal chance, or equal lot, is absurd)—this also, exceeds our comprehension. In fact, the subject demands our gratitude, that a wiser system of jurisprudence is the protection of the British public, whose liberties, properties, franchises, rights and enjoyments are not held, merely while they can be defended at the weapon's point, but while equity and evidence preponderate in the breasts of our peers.

Such being our conviction, we shall use this volume, as an opportunity of comparison. We affirm without danger of

contradiction, that none of our contemporaries would wish the restoration of the ancient system of military tenure; nor that of Villenage, by which the lower class was bound to their Lord; to follow him, to obey him, and to serve him, not according to truth and conviction, but in spite of either or of both, as the case might be. Can we wonder that Barons' castles were then necessary; and that England was never free from feudal, predatory, or civil wars?

Ranulph de Glanville was born in the town of Stratford in Suffolk; he was Chief Justice of England in the reign of Henry II; he was the founder of the house of Butteley, in the county of Suffolk, in 17th Henry II. the same year as Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury was slain. He married Berta, daughter of Theobald de Valeyne, Lord of Parham; by whom he had three daughters, to whom he resigned his estates, before he went to the Holy Land, where he distinguished himself against the enemies of the Cross of Christ. In 1174, he is said to have commanded the army which took prisoner the King of Scotland: in 1176, he was made Justice Itinerant; in 1180, Chief Justiciary; consequently he was the head of the Bench, in all civil and criminal questions. He exerted himself to restore and confirm many ancient laws, calculated for the good of the realm. He received abundant honours from the hands of his sovereign; after whose death he assumed the order of the Cross, and perished fighting valiantly at the siege of Acon, in 1190.

It is probable that Glanville drew up this work, at the command of his sovereign. It is the first that treats of English law systematically, *that has come down to our times*. We think this addition necessary; for that it is the first treatise on jurisprudence, as some have supposed, since the dissolution of the Roman Empire, is proved by Mr. B. to be incorrect: [and we think also that reference might have been made to the system of Welsh laws compiled by Howel Dda, A.D. 907—948, of which Henry could hardly be ignorant, as he repeatedly visited Wales; though modern lawyers know nothing of it.] This work appears to have been composed before 1180. We learn these particulars from a well written preface by Mr. Beames, to whom the public is ob-

lized for this translation of our earliest law writer; a labour entitling the author to well-earned praise, not from the lawyer only, but from the antiquary and the historian.

For it deserves remark, that although scarcely any of the provisions or rules of law established in this treatise, are now applicable, being abrogated by different times with different manners, yet the historical facts are not thereby invalidated. The evidence contained in this work, and others of remote antiquity, is good as to customs, manners, and events, though their principles and applications of law are obsolete, and no longer guide the practitioner, or interest his client.

Says Mr. Beames in his Preface,

Our author in general confines himself to such matters only as were the objects of jurisdiction in the *Curia Regis*, and divides his work into fourteen books. The two first of which treat of the Writ of Right, when originally commenced in the *Curia Regis*, and of all its stages, the summons—essoins—appearance—pleadings—duel or grand assize—judgment and execution. The third speaks of vouching to Warranty, which with the two former books, comprises a lucid account of the proceedings in a Writ of Right for the recovery of Land. The fourth book is employed upon rights of Adwason, the fifth upon Villenage, and the sixth upon Dower. The seventh treats upon Alienation, Descents, Succession, Wardship, and Testaments. The eighth is upon final Concords and Records in general. The ninth is upon Homage, Relief, Fealty, Services, and Purprestures. The tenth treats of Debts and matters of Contract; and the eleventh upon Attornies. Having thus disposed of Actions commenced originally in the *Curia Regis*, our author, in his twelfth book, speaks of Writs of Right, when brought in the Lord's Court, and the manner of removing them from thence to the County Court and *Curia Regis*, which leads him to mention some other Writs determinable before the Sheriff. In his thirteenth book, he treats of Assises, and Disseisins. The last book is wholly taken up in discussing the doctrine of Pleas of the Crown.

Contemplating the Judge partly in the character of antiquary, and partly in that of historian, we set before our readers an extract exhibiting the custom of the courts in his days. It might suit well enough such men as Glanville, who was skilful *tam Marte quam Mercurio*; but how it could be generally endured, or endurable by men of peace, may justly excite wonder.

The author having largely treated on *Essoins*, or excuses for non-appearance in Court, proceeds,

After the three reasonable *Essoins* which accompany the view of the Land, both parties being again present in Court, the demandant should set forth his demand, and claim in this manner:—"I demand against this *H.* half a knight's fee or two ploughlands, in such a villas, my right and inheritance, of which my father, or my grand father, was seised in his demesne as of fee in the time of King Henry the First, or after the first coronation of our Lord the King, and from whence he took the profits to the value of five shillings at least, as in corn, hay, and other produce; and this I am ready to prove by my freeman *I.* and, if any accident happen to him, by such a one, or by a third," (and the demandant may thus name, as many as he chuses, but one of them only shall wage the duel,*) "who saw this or heard it:"—"or the demandant may use other words thus:"—"and this I am ready to prove by my Free-man *J.* to whom his father, when on his death-bed, enjoined by the faith which a son owes to his father, that if he ever heard a claim concerning that land, he should prove this as that which his father saw and heard."

* The judicial combat appears to have been the most ancient mode of terminating controversies known to the northern nations in their original settlements. For *Velleius Paterculus*, (L. 2. c. 118) apprises us, that all those questions, which were decided among the Romans by legal trial, were terminated among the Germans by arms. It was introduced into most, if not all, of those European nations, whom the Gothic tribes subdued. In unison with their passion for arms, it was consecrated by their superstition. Countenanced by their princes, and sanctioned not unfrequently by the clergy, it long kept its ground (Montesq. Spirit of Laws.) One of the earliest restrictions of the practice, which is said to occur in history, was that imposed by our Henry the First, but this merely prohibited the trial by combat, in questions concerning property of small value. (Brussel, Usage des Fiefs, vol. ii. p. 962.) Louis the Seventh, of France, followed this example, and promulgated a similar law. This was imitated by St. Louis; but his regulations extended only to his own demesnes, (Hist. du France par le Père Daniel, tom. 5. 259.) It was reserved for the steady and masterly hand of our Henry the Second, to give the death blow to the trial by combat, by the introduction of the Grand Assise—a remedy which, if my memory does not grossly deceive me, is said by Roger Hovedon to have been invented by Glanville.

All the *Essoins* which can with propriety be resorted to having expired, it is requisite, before the duel can take place, that the demandant should appear in Court, accompanied by his champion armed for the contest. Nor will it suffice, if he then produce any other champion than one of those, upon whom he put the proof of his claim: neither, indeed, can any other contend for him, after the duel has been once waged.

But the tenant may defend himself, either in his own proper person, if he chuse so to do, or by any other unobjectionable witness, if he prefer that course.

But, it frequently happens, that a hired champion is produced in Court, who on account of a reward, has undertaken the proof. If the adverse party should except to the person of such a champion, alleging him to be an improper witness, because he had accepted a reward to undertake the proof, and should add, that he was prepared to prove this accusation against the champion, (if the latter chose to deny it) either by himself or by another, who was present when the champion had taken the reward, the party shall be heard upon this charge, and the principal duel shall be deferred. If, upon this charge, the champion of the demandant should be convicted and conquered in the duel, then his principal shall lose the suit, and the champion himself, as conquered, shall lose his law, namely, he shall from thenceforth never be admitted in Court, as a witness, for the purpose of making proof by duel, for any other person; but with respect to himself, he may be admitted, either in defending his own body, or in prosecuting any atrocious personal injury, as being a violation of the King's peace. He may also defend by duel his right to his own fee and inheritance.

The duel being finished, a fine of sixty shillings shall be imposed upon the party conquered in the name of *Recreantise*, and besides which he shall lose his law; and, if the champion of the tenant should be conquered, his principal shall lose the land in question, with all the fruits and produce found upon it at the time of the seisin of the fee, and never again shall be heard in Court concerning the same land. For those matters, which have been once determined in the King's Court by duel, remain for ever after unalterable. Upon the determination of the suit, let the sheriff be commanded by writ, to give possession of the land to the successful party.

From the question of duel, which concerned knights, esquires and gentlemen, we proceed to that of Villenage, which concerned the bulk of the people. Whether many of this description of persons honour our work with their perusal, we

know not; but we could be glad, by way of antidote to discontent, that the following facts, reported by the Lord Chief Justiciary of England, were generally understood among them;—and ruminated on again and again, among all whom it is our pride to contemplate and address as free-born Britons.

Our subject leads us in the next place to treat of pleas concerning the conditions of persons. Questions upon this subject arise, when any one would draw another, from a state of freedom, into that of Villenage; or when any one, being in the latter state, seeks to emancipate himself.

Both parties being present in Court, the freedom shall be there proved in this manner: the party who claims his liberty, shall produce a number of his nearest relations and kindred, springing from the same stock from which he descended. If their freedom be recognized and proved in Court, the party who demands his freedom shall be liberated from the yoke of servitude. But, if the free condition of those produced be denied, or a doubt be entertained respecting it, recourse shall be had to the *Vicinage*, whose verdict shall ascertain the fact, whether those produced are free, or not; and, according to its decision, the matter shall be adjudged. But, if the party who claims the other as his villain, should bring forward other persons to prove the contrary, namely that such persons as the claimant has now brought forward are his villains-born, and that they sprung from the same common stock with him, whom he claims as a villain born, then, in like manner, should those produced by both sides be recognized as of common kindred, let it be inquired by the *Vicinage*, which of them are the nearest to him; and, according as the inquiry turns out, let the

“Yet,” says the *Mirror*, “if the defendant can shew a free stock of his ancestors, either in the conception, or in the birth, the defendant hath always been accounted for a free-man, although his father, mother, brother, and cousins, and all his parentage, acknowledge themselves to be the plaintiff's villains, and do testify the defendant to be a villain.” (*Mirror*, c. 3. s. 23.)

We must suppose that this was an improvement posterior to the time of *Glanville*, since though some part of the *Mirror* was probably written before the conquest, the other part was written subsequently to the reign of Henry the 2nd. Few ancient law books would perhaps stand higher than the *Mirror*, could we clearly ascertain what was original, what was superadded. At present, one part of the work is often a direct refutation of another part.

judgment be given. In a similar manner, if those produced by one party should deny in any respect his relationship, or if a question arise concerning it, every doubt of this nature shall be determined by the Vicinage. The freedom having been sufficiently proved in Court, then, the party whose liberty has been questioned shall be absolved from the claim of him who would draw him to villenage, and for ever freed from it. If, however he should fail in his proof, or, if he should be recovered by his adversary as his villain-born, he shall be irrecoverably adjudged to belong to his Lord, together with all the chattels he possesses.

This uncomfortable and degrading situation it was by no means easy to get quit of. As the property and income of the Lord was involved in the question, every advantage was taken that power and knowledge could maintain against weakness and ignorance. Complete freedom was the gradual work of ages; yet some Lords were less despotic.

The Lord may give or sell him to another, for the purpose of liberating him. It must, however, be observed, that no one in a state of villenage can purchase his freedom with his own money; for, in such case, he may, according to the law and custom of the realm, be again recalled by his Lord to a state of villenage, all the chattels of a villain-born being understood as so absolutely in the power of his Lord, as to preclude the former, at least with his own money, and as against his Lord, from redeeming himself from villenage. But, if a stranger with his own money purchase the villain's freedom, the villain may forever after maintain his freedom against his Lord, who has sold him.

Villeins-born are such from their birth. Thus, if both the parents are villeins-born, the offspring is a villain-born. The same may be said where the father is free but the mother a villain-born. If, however, the mother be free, and the father a villain-born, the same rule prevails, as far as the purity of condition be in question.

If a free-man take to wife a woman born in villenage, whilst he so continues bound to the state of villenage, he shall as a consequence lose his law, as if he himself were a villain-born.

If there be any children resulting from the connection of a woman born in villenage belonging to one person, and a man born in that state belonging to another, the children shall be proportionably divided between the two Lords.

This last regulation *the division of Children, between the two Lords*, is surely one of the grossest outrages ever devised, for the affliction of poor human nature!

It equals whatever has been said or suspected on the condition of slaves in the West Indies. But, to think of this, as a custom,—a law, in that island now the land of liberty, and at this moment the refuge of the unfortunate, *must* excite the most grateful reflections in the mind of every genuine Briton. Long may our countrymen by zealous piety towards their native land, deserve the continuation of their privileges, and amidst the *due* jealousy which it becomes them to maintain on their behalf, may they never cease to mingle an equally due portion of thankfulness to Divine Providence, to the real patriots of past ages, to the liberal spirit the present times, and to the benevolent disposition of that government, which, most assuredly, were there any hazard of the return of such evils, would be the first to stand forward to repel and confound their abettors.

This arbitrary custom supported by law, will excite the indignation of all who consider it;—but some may be tempted to hope that the superior classes were *certainly* exempt from similar evils. Not *certainly*: they too were subject, especially females, to equal oppression, though of a different kind. What would our young heiresses think of being restricted in the choice of a husband to one of three recommended by their lords, who held their land till they had made their election? We may further examine this in a future subject and number.

Mr. Beames has executed his task, very creditably to his talents and learning. The work is intended for modern readers, and therefore the modern air which he has frankly thrown over it, is not ungraceful. His notes do more than merely explain the obsolete terms, in which it should seem Glanville delighted; and he refers his readers in the course of them to a variety of works, from which further illustrations may be obtained. The whole is very judicious. We are sorry however to see, that although the MSS. copies of Glanville in the Bodleian, the Cottonian, the Harleian, and Dr. Milles's Collections have been consulted, yet "the MS. of Glanville deposited in Lincoln's-Inn Library has not been consulted." This is wrong, from whatever cause it has occurred; either in a barrister of Lincoln's-Inn, or in whoever had charge of the Library of that learned Society.

Some Account of a Boy born Blind and Deaf; by Dugald Stewart, F.R.S. Edin. &c. 4to. pp. 70. Edinburgh. 1812.

This paper relates the remarkable case of a boy who is deficient in *two* of the senses necessary to man. Cases of blindness, total, or nearly total from the birth, are unfortunately but too common; deafness is not extremely rare: it is, however seldom that more than *one* sense is absent from the subject of such melancholy privation. We have known children born blind, who after once making an acquaintance with the places in, and near, their residence, seemed no more influenced by fear, or apprehension of danger, than their playmates. But, these appeared to judge of persons, and therefore of dangers, near or remote, by the exquisite sensibility of their ear: by this they calculated distances, and, as it were, watched events. Such a power was not bestowed on James Mitchell, the subject of the present memoir, who was born both blind and deaf, Nov. 11, 1795. His father was a clergyman, in the county of Nairn, in Scotland: he died in June 1811. The best advice was obtained for this boy, by his father, who brought him to London in 1808, but without effect. Further experiments give reason to hope that *some* relief may be obtained from his blindness; but his deafness is pronounced incurable.

Very rare are instances of this kind, which afford an opportunity of determining how far the mental powers are active. They usually appear confined or oppressed. As children so afflicted cannot receive communications by speech, neither can they convey them; they therefore are usually considered as solitary and outcast beings. But this child has, evidently, a mind as active as that of others; as capable of receiving and entertaining ideas, and combining them for future service. *E. gr.*

He obtains ideas by his own activity. He finds his way about places to which he is accustomed; and ventures occasionally into new ground. He visits the shops of carpenters and other mechanics, with design to understand the nature and operation of their tools. He has assisted the farm servants in some of their labours, particularly in cleansing the

stables. He has attempted to repair breaches in the out-buildings; and even to form models of houses with *roof*, leaving openings for doors and windows. He seems to be fond of horses, and distinguishes those of strangers (which he visits without apprehension of danger,) in the stable, from those to which he has been accustomed. Whether he does this by the exquisite power of his sense of smelling, or by the delicacy of his touch, is not clear. His mother having sold a horse, it happened, after a few weeks, to be rode to her door. Young Mitchell, on examining it, appeared to know it again; to put his recollection to the test, the rider dismounted; when he immediately led the horse to his mother's stable, took off his saddle and bridle, gave him corn, and left him there, taking good care to put the key in his pocket. In fact, he seems to be an adept in the use of locks and keys; for after his disposition to visit the horses of strangers in the stable, became known, his father ordered the servants to check him, in this dangerous gratification. He contrived, however, to lock the servants into the kitchen, while he paid a visit of this nature, unmolested. He also finds a pleasure in the exercise of his touch: he has employed himself, during several hours, in gathering *smooth* and round stones from the bed of a river, and sitting down, has arranged them in a circular form around him; probably as being the most convenient for his easy reach and removal.

At the time of life when this boy began to walk, he seemed to be attracted by bright and dazzling colours; and though every thing connected with this history appears to prove that he derived little information from that organ, yet he received from it much *sensual* gratification.

He used to hold between his eye and luminous objects, such bodies as he had found to increase, by their interposition, the quantity of light; and it was one of his chief amusements, to concentrate the sun's rays by means of pieces of glass, transparent pebbles, or similar substances, which he held between his eye and the light, and turned about in various directions. These, too, he would often break with his teeth, and give them that form which seemed to please him most. There were other modes by which he was in the habit of gratifying his fondness for light. He would retire to any out-house, or any

room within his reach, shut the windows and doors, and remain there for some considerable time, with his eyes fixed on some small hole or chink which admitted the sun's rays, eagerly catching them. He would also, during the winter nights, often retire to a dark corner of the room, and kindle a light for his amusement. On these occasions, as well as in the gratification of his other senses, his countenance and gestures displayed a most interesting avidity and curiosity.

It was difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain with precision, the degree of sight which he enjoyed; but from the preternatural acuteness which his senses of touch and smell had acquired, in consequence of their being habitually employed to collect that information for which the sight is peculiarly adapted, it may be presumed with confidence that he derived little, if any, assistance from his eyes, as organs of vision. The appearances of disease, besides, in the eyes, were such as to render it in the highest degree probable that they enable him merely to distinguish colours, and differences in the intensity of light.

When a stranger arrives, his smell immediately and invariably informs him of the circumstance, and directs him to the place where the stranger is, whom he proceeds to survey by the sense of touch. In the remote situation where he resides, male visitors are most frequent; and, therefore, the first thing he generally does, is to examine whether or not the stranger wears boots; if he does wear them, he immediately quits the stranger, goes to the lobby, feels for, and accurately examines his whip; then proceeds to the stable, and handles his horse with great care, and with the utmost seeming attention. It has occasionally happened, that visitors have arrived in a carriage; and, on such occasions, he has never failed to go to the place where the carriage stood, examined the whole of it with much anxiety, and tried innumerable times the elasticity of the springs. In all this he is undoubtedly guided by the smell and touch only.

His powers of receiving ideas from others are at least equally remarkable. He is sensible to praise, or blame. When he has done well, his sister pats him gently, but repeatedly and cordially, on his head or shoulders: a less quantity, signifies permission, merely: a smarter blow is a negative; and occasionally repeated, is a mild punishment. The sense of touch is the medium also of other communications: when his mother was to be absent for some days, his sister allayed his anxiety concerning her, by laying his head down on a pillow and

shutting his eyes so many times as his mother would be absent nights; implying an equal number of his *sleepings*.

In one of his exploratory excursions, he was seen by his terrified father, creeping on his hands and knees, along a narrow wooden bridge which crossed a river, at the deepest and most rapid part of the stream. He was stopped; and to deter him from such perilous experiments, he was plunged twice or thrice in the river. He took the hint; and certainly understood that this was a thing forbidden; whether or not he comprehended the implied danger of drowning, included in this friendly warning. That his mind should have conceived the idea of death, is naturally impossible; but, that it *could* receive it, is no less certain. He had amused himself, occasionally, when dead fowls were within his reach, by placing one on its legs, and when it fell, laughing at the incident: but when his father died, his sensibility was very different. He touched the corpse; but shrunk from it, with signs of surprize and dislike. He touched it in the coffin; and in the evening, after the funeral, he went to the grave, and patted it with both his hands. He certainly distinguished it as his father's grave; but whether these pappings were from affectionate recollection, or imitation of the labourers in their action of closing the grave, could not well be determined. It deserves notice, however, that, for several days, he returned repeatedly to the grave; and he afterwards attended every funeral that entered the churchyard.

When a tailor was brought to make a suit of mourning for him, the boy took him into the apartment where his father had died, stretched his own head and neck backwards, pointed to the bed, and then conducted him to the churchyard, to the grave in which his father had been interred.

Being lately very ill, he was put into the same bed where his father had died. He would not lye a moment in it; but became quite peaceable when removed to another.

On one occasion, shortly after his father's death, discovering that his mother was unwell, and in bed, he was observed to weep.

Three months after the death of his father, a clergyman being in the house, on a Sunday evening, he pointed to his father's Bible, and then made a sign that the family should kneel.

It is matter of curious conjecture what he thinks of others, his fellow beings, who are enabled to conduct themselves at their pleasure, by means not in his power; and to visit each other for purposes of solace or business, to which he is unequal. Not but what he seems to have a notion of property. He keeps, and values some things as *his own*: he refrains from appropriating what he knows others have been in the habit of using. He is sometimes grieved when reprimanded for misconduct; but is irritated by harshness. His tears occasionally flow from affectionate sorrow; more commonly from disappointed wishes. His sensations of mirth are displayed in boisterous laughter; the triumph of his success, when his schemes and *tricks* have placed others in situations of ludicrous distress.

His appetite seems to be a source of considerable enjoyment to him: he eats voraciously; and perhaps his organs of taste may be possessed of powers bearing some proportion to those of his smelling and feeling.

Of superior beings he has no conception; and probably no notion can be communicated to him. He cannot see them; he cannot hear them; he cannot feel them: and if he should receive any such ideas, by what means he might explain his perceptions to others, does not appear. He may reflect in his own mind, that he did not exist always; but how he should convince others, that his thoughts extend beyond his immediate parents,—if he even particularizes them, as the authors of his being, we are at a loss to conjecture. Yet to say, where his cogitations shall stop, is to fix bounds to the operation of mind;—which as mind is to us infinite, is beyond our powers. He may form conceptions totally distinct from any to which we are accustomed, or in which we have indulged; yet though unlike, they may be equally efficacious. They may have for their basis such senses as he is in the habit of exercising. He may form comparisons utterly beyond our comprehension; and possibly the more intense as the more restricted. The mind, which evidently avails itself of our ordinary senses, to perform bodily actions and to obtain bodily ideas, whence by comparison we obtain ideas more intellectual, may also avail itself of the existing senses to institute comparisons of still greater

enjoyments, of more exalted degrees of these, than are in actual enjoyment.—But we must leave this case, to the very able hands who at present have it in charge. We assure ourselves that nothing will be left undone, that can by possibility be advantageous. The case is more than curious, it is interesting to humanity.

The absence of *one sense* from the small number of five, is truly afflicting; but the absence of *two senses*, reduces that small number, in a most lamentable proportion. Little more is wanting to vacate the larger half of the human faculties; and perhaps, when the senses deficient are those most important and extensive ones, Seeing and Hearing, they may at little risque, be valued at a full half. Their powers and their usefulness seem to justify this estimate. But, we know not the entire *capabilities* of any one sense, while we possess the whole. We may form a conjecture of what the powers of smelling are capable, could it exist alone, from the acuteness of smell evinced by James Mitchell;—and this may extend to articles not hitherto noticed; as changes in the atmosphere, &c. Delicacy of touch, perhaps, never can be carried higher than in the instance of Professor Sanderson, who distinguished a set of false medals from genuine, after they had deceived a celebrated antiquary. The Professor also affirmed that they *smelt* differently to him. This recent case justifies the Professor's affirmation; which has been received rather with complimentary, than entire assent. Certainly, we wish most heartily, that this youth may acquire the faculty of vision; but we guess that he never will be able fully to explain what were his sensations in his state of darkness. The influence of novelty, the *additional* sensations to which he will become liable, will confuse and confound those, which he had previously indulged. Variety will abate intensity: the whole will not be gain. Much, very much, however, will be gain; and if his mental disposition be no worse than we readily infer, from the account of it in this tract, he will feel that gratitude which he cannot utter. What ought to be the grateful feelings of those who have never suffered under such deficiencies, it better becomes us to submit to the consideration of our readers, than to expose our weakness by attempting to find words to express.

D

Memoirs of Joan d'Arc, or, Du Lys,
commonly called the Maid of Orleans, &c.
by Geo. Ann Grave, 8vo. pp. 258. Price
7s. 6d. Wetton. Egham. 1812.

TIMES of national distress, of civil war especially, call out virtues and vices, in degrees which under ordinary occasions are thought incredible.

Human nature seems to be almost changed by circumstances: these render the feeble bold, and the bold ferocious; or they undermine the confidence of the courageous, and the valiant sink into utter despondency. The civil wars in England in the seventeenth century, furnished instances not a few, of ladies defending towns, or castles, or mansions in the absence of their husbands. Some of them received public honours for their prowess; while the fortitude of others was rewarded by success, only. It is probable enough that this disposition advanced by degrees; and that these heroines after being inured to the din of arms, and its feats, in the persons of their brothers, or husbands, or lovers, acquired at length a habit of hardihood, of which neither they thought themselves nor any others thought them capable, at first. The tilts and tournaments of the days of chivalry had undoubtedly a tendency to familiarize the female sex to the accidents of war; and those who commanded knights to endure for their sakes, the perils and dangers which constitute the basis of romance, were not far from being themselves ready to share the dangers, by something more than sympathy at a distance. Various passions contributed to rouse the fair to arms, emulation, jealousy, love; sometimes revenge, anger, and hatred. The tutorage they bestowed on their sons was incessant praise of valour; they took a pride in their exploits, and though all might not equal the heroic firmness of the Spartan matron, who giving his shield to her son bid him return "either with it, [as his trophy] or on it," [as his bier] yet many might choose to express themselves in the language of ardour to those resorting to the field of honour, and bid them "win their spurs, before they wore them."

We learn from Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. IX. p. 911, that at the siege of Sens in 1420, were "many worthy laydes and

gentilwomen, bothe Frenche and Englishe, of the whiche, many of hem begonne the faitz of armes long time agoon, but of laying at seges, now they begynne first."

In our own days we have seen the famous *Sarragossina* (Augustina, Compare Lit. Pan. Vol. X. p. 64) defend her gun, when the men abandoned the ground, before the enemy; and hundreds of Spanish women, of all ages and of every rank, fell in that contest from which she derives her name.

These instances contribute to abate the miraculous in the case of Joan of Arc, whom we look upon as one of those heroines which occur from time to time, that the remembrance of them may not be obliterated; yet at distant intervals, that nature may not be too often offended at a change she suffers with reluctance, while she regrets as well the extraordinary occasion as the violent metamorphosis.

This volume is a compilation from "L'Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc, dite la Pucelle d'Orleans," by the Abbé l'Englet du Fresnoy. The compiler speaks of *patriotism*, as the cause of this labour—of the soul as being "of no sex;" and—of affording "my countrywomen," an opportunity of contemplating "the strenuous exertions of which woman is capable," &c. Whether these sentiments were not somewhat more graceful in the original French writer than in his English translator, we leave to be settled between the parties. More appropriate examples of patriotism for *British* ladies, might have been selected, from the annals of our own country. But, the work affords a proof—for which we chiefly notice it, of the rapid spread of opinion among the French people, and the effects of that spread on their conduct and actions. The fascination of public report, and the sway of general persuasion over the mind, is no where more effectual than in France. It is often blindly adopted; and in spite of better knowledge. Our own days have seen the most incredible tales reported and propagated with the rapidity of lightning. The most absurd falsities have obtained belief; and what was still worse, they prompted to actions of which the perpetrators would not have thought themselves capable a few days, or even a few hours, before. From all magic and sorcery, and dealings with the devil, we readily absolve Jeanne d'Arc;

we equally disbelieve all her supernatural communications with angels, and information derived from above. When therefore this writer assures us that by "*divine grace*" she surmounted all impediments;—when he adopts the language of Danois (who owed his fortune to her service) who perceived "*a kind of miracle*" in her exploits;—and when he "*discerns the finger of God,*" in her actions, and admits them as proof of her "*mission,*" we can but express our readiness to believe if we could; were it from principles of politeness, only; but politeness when carried too far approaches to the nature of transgression, and from the transgression of professing to believe more than politeness may be supposed to justify we beg to be excused at present.

Nevertheless Jeanne d'Arc was a remarkable person. To France a fortunate tool for policy to work with. To England a scourge for foolish superstition, or wicked dissension: an occasion of panic without cause, in the judgment of reason and common sense; but of angry debate and contradictory opinion where statesman-like jealousy was not checked by more truly statesman-like forbearance and magnanimity.

What Jeanne undertook she performed, —not a little aided by the very boldness of the undertaking; an ordinary mind would not have conceived the purpose, nor employed the means, nor have realized the events. But Jeanne was no ordinary mind: she was a *heroine*, says the writer before us; but should another call her a *virago*, we advise our author, however reluctant, to let the insult pass unresented. A late French writer, M. Théodore Boulys: "before the revolution president of the Election of Nevers, and since professor at the Central School of that department,"—a writer who has studied the sibyls, the seers, and especially Nostradamus *au fond*,—a writer who discovered in that soothsayer's predictions the downfall of the Gallican Church, the murder of Louis XVI., the Queen, and the Dauphin, the elevation of Napoleon Buonaparte to the empire of France, and *the conquest which is the destiny of that hero to accomplish of England, &c.*—this learned professor, has appealed for a proof of the power possessed by mankind of foretelling future events, to the instance of Jeanne d'Arc,—to whom he attributes

neither sorcery, nor *animal magnetism*; but a healthy, robust, and *virginal* conformation. She was a lass, says he, of a new and *primitive* complexion; and her whole person was imbued and penetrated by the energetic juices of an instinctive *clairvoyance*. She prophesied by the force and virtue of her excellent constitution. It is true, she lost in part, this instinctive *clairvoyance* after she had caused the king to be crowned at Rheims; but that was entirely owing to the fatigue her *virtue*, i. e. her marvelous powers, had undergone. Had the wonderful *baquets* of Mesmer, the *treatment* of animal magnetism been known in her days, by a few touches of the magical rod, she would have been fully re-charged, her capabilities would have been revived; and she would have recommenced the operations of the predictive power, as a clock which has stood, renews its course and strikes the hours, after the weights are wound up and the pendulum is put in motion.—So says the learned Théodore Buoy: and we dare not impeach his theory. Others are more venturesome: our author thus describes this heroine's parentage.

A D 1412. Joan was born at Domremy, a hamlet from that circumstance, afterwards called Domremy-la Puelle, in the parish of Greux, and diocese of Toul, near and above the town of Vaucouleurs, half skirting the river Meuse; though Barrese, on the frontiers of Lorraine, it belonged to France, and the inhabitants were loyal, notwithstanding many neighbouring hamlets favoured the English and Burgundian cause.

It appears from the strict inquiries made in 1429, by order of Charles VII. that she was the daughter of James and Isabel d'Arc, an honest industrious pair, who worked sufficient land and cattle to employ and subsist a family of three sons and two daughters. All Joan's learning consisted in the *pater-noster*, the angelic salutation, the symbol of the apostles, and to handle the distaff; however to these very limited attainments, she of herself superadded some of a different kind, which proved eminently useful in the subsequent climax of her life; passing the first years of that life, in tending cattle and other rustic avocations, there was at intervals ample leisure not only for solitary thought, but also for rustic amusements; in these last, the natural bias of inclination displays itself earlier, and more decidedly, than in any other pursuits, because they are the first employments of free will, the first enjoyment of liberty. Joan either exercised herself in running races with her companions, or in skirmishing

with imitative lances, after the manner of skilful knights; armed with long poles or sticks, she maintained lance-shocks so rough, that bye-standers were both astonished and pleased to see her at the exercise; at times she tilted against trees, at times mounting the horses she took to graze, sat them as well as the best cavalier.

A.D. 1422. She was not yet thirteen, when Charles VI. died; the troubles that agitated all France, becoming a common topic of discourse from the castle to the cot, reached her native village, where we may suppose, from its remote situation, simplicity of manners fostered that romantic ardour, which growing with her growth, and strengthening with her strength, afterwards by divine grace surmounted all impediments.

Her accusers declared he to be,

"A sorceress, conjuror, false prophetess, a worshipper of demons, a conspirator, full of, and wholly devoted to magic, savouring ill of the catholic faith, sacrilegious, idolatrous, apostate to the faith, blaspheming the name of God and his saints, scandalous, seditious, troubling and preventing peace, provoking to war, cruel, desiring the effusion of human blood, inciting to shed it, having entirely abandoned and cast off the modesty and decency of the feminine sex, taken the habiliments of military men, without any shame or confusion, forsaken and despised the law of God and of nature, and the ecclesiastical discipline before God and man, seducing the princes and the people, having consented that they should adore her, and kiss her hands, and her garments, to the great contempt and injury of the honour and worship due to God; demand that she be declared heretick, or at least greatly suspected of heresy, and legally punished according to the divine and canonical institutes."

For this she was condemned and executed by her English adversaries, into whose hands she fell: but her condemnation was afterwards annulled; as witness the following solemn testimonial.

By authority of the holy apostolical see, we, John, reverend father in God, archbishop of Rheims, and William, reverend father in God, bishop of Paris, and Richard, by the grace of God, bishop of Coutances, and John Brehal, doctor in theology, of the order of Friars-preachers, inquisitor of heresy and idolatry, in the kingdom of France, judges delegated and ordained by our holy father, at this time pope.

We being at our high tribunal, having always God before our eyes, by a definitive sentence, given and uttered in our judicial seat and high tribunal, we, before-mentioned, do utter, pronounce, decree, and declare, that the said process, full of frauds, evils,

corruptions, and wholly repugnant to justice and equity, containing manifest errors and abuses, likewise the aforesaid abjuration, and all the false and iniquitous executions that have proceeded from, and followed it, ought to be abrogated, annulled, torn, and destroyed. And moreover, inasmuch as justice and reason, persuaive, and command us, we abrogate, disserve, disannul, and discharge them from all force, power, value, and virtue. And we sentence and declare the said Joan, (whom God deliver), her brothers, and relations, actors and appellants, never to have contracted or incurred any spot or stain of infamy; (but) by reason and occasion of premises, innocent, inculpable, and exempt from the crime and sin which falsely they imputed to the said maid. Furthermore, we enjoin public and solemn notice and execution of our said sentence, to be done immediately and without delay, in this town and city of Rouen, in two places, that is to say, one this day, in the square and burying-ground of St. Owen, at which place, a general procession shall be made, and a solemn sermon, by a venerable doctor in theology; and the other, at the old market place, where the general procession shall go to-morrow morning, and there shall be made a solemn sermon, by a venerable doctor in theology; to wit, in the place in which the said maid was cruelly and horribly burnt and suffocated, &c. &c. &c.

From among these opinions we give the reader leave to choose which he pleases; or to dismiss the subject without making or declaring his choice, if he be rather a follower of the silent Pythagoras than of the prattling Nostradamus.

An Essay, tending to shew the Impolicy of the Laws of Usury. By Andrew Green, LL.B. 8vo. pp. 20. Cradock and Joy, London; 1812.

Usury is a practical question, not to be determined by abstract argument or logical inference. A treatise on this subject should enquire which are the most flourishing nations, those where interest is high, or where it is low?—Which are the happier times, in the history of a nation, those when the lenders of money obtained great profits, or those when the lenders procured money freely, and paid a moderate price for the use of it? This slight tract, we conjecture, was intended merely to set the question afloat. It is treated as a question referring to a state of war—a long continued state of war!—O, that a permanent peace would contribute to settle all such questions, and to render unnecessary all such Essays!

A Brief Historical View of the Causes of the Decline of the Commerce of Nations.

By James Tyson. 8vo. Pp. 80. Sharpe. London: 1813.

Nothing would please us better than a manual comprizing the history of commerce and manufactures, with dates, and references to authorities for consultation. But, it should seem, that the subject of manufactures, though the foundation of commerce, is kept too distinct from it. The natural productions of a country, as spices, balms, perfumes, were most probably the first articles of export, and therefore, of transport; since sacrifice, a rite universal among mankind in early ages, could scarcely be respectably performed without such accompaniments.—It might be, that the first instance of commerce alluded to by our author, Gen. xxxvii. was a lading for this purpose. Certain it is, that Moses employed aromatics (spices) in his sacred service; and apparently the custom of burning perfumes in honour of the deity, was not then first practised. But, this gives an entirely new turn to the history; for the next enquiry is, where these fragrances grew?—and then, whether the same country did not also furnish manufactured articles, greatly in request in foreign parts, the supply of which, became commerce.

It is likely, for instance, that Greece furnished linen and woollen; but the oldest evidence we have on the subject, (the Vases called Etruscan) prove that muslins exactly resembling those now made in India, were known to the Greeks. Did they in those early ages manufacture these themselves? Did they receive them from Egypt? or from whence?—and if from India, was it not by the route constantly travelled by the caravans, across the desert? As Abraham travelled this route, from India, (so did Melchizedech, and so did Balaam), this commerce conveyed by camels, may be thought older than Tyre and Sidon;—whose prosperity arose from conveying these (and other) products and commodities, very extensively, at a cheap rate by sea.

It is well known that the transit by caravans continued, and was found profitable long after the discovery of the new way to India; and even now commodities

from Persia, are obtained in the Levant, at prices not enormously differing from those incurred by shipping. It is not so from China and regions further east: carriage by land is greatly encreased from thence; carriage by sea is not, the course necessary to steer is not confined by mountains or turned aside by difficult countries, woods, morasses, and deserts, as long land journeys are.

This pamphlet, though it does not meet our wishes, altogether,—and to meet them fairly would require no little research—yet may furnish some notion to those who have never studied the subject; and to whom the large works of Anderson, &c. are not convenient. Mr. T. sums up his observations in concluding remarks on the causes of the decline of commerce: he might on this subject have derived assistance from Playfair. If our author meditates a fellow pamphlet, on the history of those cities and nations, which having had flourishing manufactures, have afterwards lost them, he will do an acceptable service by the publication of it: though after all, we never can expect to approach toward that accuracy, which is the boast of modern times, and especially of this commercial and manufacturing nation.

The Elements of English Grammar: with numerous Exercises, Questions for Examinations, and Notes, for the Use of the advanced Student. By the Rev. W. Allen. 12mo. pp. 460. Price 4s. 6d. Longman and Co., London; 1813.

In turning over this book—for we cannot pretend to have read every line in it—we have met with many judicious and valuable remarks; and the instances of false constructions, &c. to be corrected, are extensive and instructive. Perhaps Mr. A. is incorrect in thinking that “one is used—like the French on:”—we apprehend it is a remain of the French language once current in our country, and established by law. When he says “the Spaniards and Germans, and frequently the French and Italians, convey an address in the third person:” he might have added,—“so do the eastern nations; and the Hebrew in conformity to them;” and this the rather, because the phraseology of the Bible cannot be too distinctly explained or illustrated.

LITERARY REGISTER.

Authors, Editors, and Publishers are particularly requested to forward to the Literary Panorama Office, post-paid, the titles, prices, and other particulars of works in hand, or published, for insertion in this department of the work.

WORKS ANNOUNCED FOR PUBLICATION.

ARCHITECTURE

Mr. J. S. Hawkins's History of the Origin and Establishment of Gothic Architecture, including an inquiry into its Principles and an investigation of the trade of Painting upon and Staining Glass, which has some time occupied his attention, we have the pleasure to inform the reader will appear in the course of the ensuing month.

Sir James Hall, bart. has in the press, an essay on Gothic Architecture, in a royal quarto volume, illustrated by fifty-nine engravings.

BIOGRAPHY.

Thomas Campbell, Esq. author of the Pleasures of Hope, has in the press, in four small octavo volumes, Critical and Biographical Notices of the British Poets, with occasional selections from their works.

Soon will appear a Biographical List of the present House of Commons. In a small Duodecimo volume.

Collections from the Deiphnesophits, or Banquet of the Gods of Athens, translated from the Greek, by the late Thomas Eagles, Esq. in an octavo volume, is expected to appear in March.

A Collection of the most beautiful Poems of the Minor Greek Poets, as preserved in the Anthologies of Brunch and Jacobs, in Siobaus, &c. translated by the Rev. R. Bland and others, with notes and illustrations, is printing in an octavo volume.

COMMERCE.

In a few days will be published, in large post 4to, Price 8s 6d. a Complete System of Mercantile Penmanship, written in a plain and invariable style: consisting of different sets of written, printed, and German Text alphabets; large, half, and small text copy lines; different Forms of receipts, promissory notes, drafts, and bills of exchange; cards of compliment, friendship, and mercantile letters; invoices, accounts sales, Accounts current, and bills of parcels. Carefully engraved by J. Menzes of Edinburgh; from the off-hand writing of Thomas Rennie, writing-master and Accountant, Glasgow.

The mercantile forms (of which there is a particular description prefixed) are composed and arranged agreeably to the present practice of the first mercantile houses in the country, and have been approved of by some of the most respectable Merchants of Glasgow and Greenock.

EDUCATION.

Just imported, by T. Bossey, 4, Broad-Street, City, Grammaires des Grammaires, ou Analyse raisonnée des meilleurs traités sur la langue Française, à l'Usage des Elèves de l'Institut des Maisons Impériales Napoleon, établies à Saint-

Denis, pour l'Éducation des Filles de Membres de la Légion d'Honneur; Par Ch. P. Girault-Duvivier. Deux Volumes in-octavo, de plus de six cents pages chacun, prix 11. 8s.

Castle Grammaire François, simplifié, 5s.

Condillac Principes de Grammaire, 5s.

Du Houllay Fables en Vers François, 12mo. 2s. 6d.

Œuvres de Rollin, 34 vols. 12mo. Contenant Hist. Anc. Roq. et Belles Lettres, qui se vendent séparément.

Restaur. Traite de l'Orthographe Française, 8vo.

Œuvres Complètes de Berquin; ornée de 193 Fig. 10 vols. 12mo. 21. — beau papier. 3l.

Œuvres de Gessner, 3 vols. 18mo. 10s. 6d.

Cryptogamie, complete, de Linnei. Par Joly-clerc. 8vo. 5s.

Dictionnaire Grec et François. Par Quenon, 2v. 8vo. £1 6s.

L'Homond, Grammaire Latine, 12mo 3s. 6d.

Quintiliani Instit. Oratorum, ad usum Scholæ, 2 vols. 12mo. Paris, 1809. 12s.

Virgil, Stereotype.

Cicero's Libri Rhetorici, nova Edit, d'Allemand, 12mo. Paris, 1810. 5s. 6d.

* * A General Catalogue of Foreign Books will be published next Month; containing valuable recent Importations of French and German Works, &c. &c.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Early in 1813 Mr. Colburn of Conduit Street will publish an entire new work to be continued annually entitled *The Literary and Scientific Calendar of the British Empire*, for the year 1812, it will contain 1. The Dictionary of all living authors, announced for some time past. 2. A similar catalogue of painters, engravers, sculptors and Musical composers. 3. A Register of all the universities and public schools, with lists of the heads of colleges, professors, tutors, masters, &c., promotions, appointments, prize questions and other interesting particulars relative to those seminaries. 4. An account of all the public societies, institutions, libraries and exhibitions for the promotion of literature and the arts and sciences in every part of the United Kingdom; their officers, an abstract of their proceedings, lectures, &c. during the preceding year. 5. Useful and interesting articles in every subject connected with literature, science and the arts. 6. Biographical sketches of eminent literary characters articles and men of science deceased in 1812, with various other useful and interesting tables, &c. The friends to this undertaking are earnestly requested to favor the publisher as early as possible (free of postage) with any information on the subject it may be in their power to communicate.

Dr. Thomson will publish, in March next, an account of a tour through Sweden, performed by him during the autumn of 1812. Though his journey was undertaken with a view principally to geological and other scientific researches; yet peculiar as are the political relations between England and Sweden, his general observations cannot fail to be interesting at the present juncture.

A History of the life of Martin Luther, with an account of the reformation in Germany, by Mr. Alexander Bower, will appear shortly.

Messrs. Leigh and Sotheby will submit the following libraries for public sale, during the present season.

1. The library of the late Charles Brandon Trye, Esq. F. R. S.

2. The very extensive and valuable library of the late Henry Hope, Esq.

3. The library (Bijou Litteraire) of a well-known collector. The whole superbly bound in Morocco and Russia Leather.

4. The library of the late Mrs. Anne Newton, containing chiefly the collection of the great Sir Isaac Newton.

5. Part of the library of Tycho Wing, Esq. deceased.

6. The valuable collection of prints and drawings of the late Henry Hope, Esq.

7. The very valuable library of a gentleman, deceased. Comprehending an extensive collection of Divinity, History, Topography, Voyages and Travels, Arts and Sciences, and Belles Lettres.

8. A very valuable selection of Greek and Roman classics, in fine condition, many of them splendidly bound.

PROPOSITA PHILANTHROPICA.

—Homo sum :

Humanum nihil a me alienum puto.

CHURCH MISSIONARY ASSOCIATIONS, IN AID OF THE SOCIETY FOR MISSIONS TO AFRICA AND THE EAST, INSTITUTED BY MEMBERS OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

President, Right Hon. Lord Gambier.—
Treasurer, Henry Thornton, Esq. M. P.
Secretary, Rev. Josiah Pratt, B. D. F. A. S.

It is proposed to supply the Associations with the Annual Reports for all Annual Subscribers; and also with such a number of a Summary View of the Designs and Proceedings of the Society, as may suffice for their sphere of operation. But it is in contemplation, also, by the Committee of the Society, to print small *Monthly Tracts*; and to send them to all its Associations throughout the Empire for gratuitous distribution. These Tracts will be written in a plain and simple manner; and will be calculated to convey information to the cottages of the poor, and to excite their prayers for the success of Missions, while they may also interest the feelings of those who can contribute their pecuniary aid to the Society. These Tracts, beside communicating all the most recent information respecting the Society's Missions, will briefly notice the state and progress of other Missions.

Weekly Contributions may be collected from that numerous class, who cannot "give of their abundance."

In large Towns, comprehending several Parishes, it may be expedient to appoint a President, Vice Presidents, a Treasurer, and a Secretary; with a pretty numerous Committee, composed of persons from the different parishes.

In Parochial Associations, a Treasurer, Secretary, and smaller Committee, under the presidency of the Clergyman, may be best suited to conduct the business.

In a voluntary Union of Friends, whether the members of the same family, the children of a school, or persons connected by affinity or friendship, such arrangements may be made as may prove most convenient to themselves.

The following Scale will demonstrate the great advantage of this division of labour:—

	£.
5 Persons, each 1s. per Week, produce 13	
10.....	26
15.....	36
20.....	52
25.....	65
30.....	78
35.....	91
40.....	104
45.....	117
50.....	130

It is obvious that this simple and efficacious method of collecting Weekly Contributions is applicable to Associations of every extent from that of the single individual, who assembles four others around him, to that which embraces the largest circle. And when it is considered that such an individual will furnish to the Society the sum of £13 per annum; and that for £20 the Society's Missionaries can redeem a poor African child from slavery, have him under their own control, and place him under Christian Instruction during all the years of his boyhood and youth; and that for £5 per annum the Missionaries can maintain and educate one of such redeemed or other African children—surely every Member of such Committee or Sub-committee will be able to realize to himself how beneficial his own personal exertions are in the concern of the Society!

DIDASCALIA.

DRURY-LANE THEATRE.

Mr. Coleridge has long been honourably known to the public as a poet whose pen propagated neither immorality nor pophaneism. His muse was rather sentiment; than prompt to

Catch the manners living as they rise

He has now favoured this theatre with a tragedy, in which these parts of his poetical character are conspicuous. Genius he certainly possesses; the graces of diction, and brilliant passages in this tragedy distinguish it among the efforts of modern times; and once more correct language and classical graces adorn the stage.

But, if criticism observe that Mr. C. has drawn rather from the stores of his own mind, than from the workings of nature at large, from the ordinary passions of men, we

know not what defence he could make to the charge. It is thought, however, that he has endeavoured to portray nature; that he has watched himself with a jealousy which marks his own opinion of his mental bias; and therefore in deference to the real merits of the piece and the intentional correctness of its author, we shall treat his attempt with kindness, and his errors with lenity.

This tragedy is called the Remorse, and the following is a compendium of its incidents.

The scene is in Grenada, and the time of action during the reign of Philip the Cruel, when the persecution of the Moors was at its height. An edict had passed inflicting the penalty of death on all persons discovered in a Morisco habit. Ordonio the son of a Spanish Grandee, hires three assassins to murder his brother Alva, his favoured rival in the affections of Teresa. Two are killed in the combat, and the third, a Moorish chief desists, on condition of receiving a ring as Teresa's pledge, in order to satisfy the jealous vengeance of his master. Alva after six years foreign military service returns doubtful of Teresa's fidelity, assumes the Moorish garb and the character of a wizard, discovers her truth through the means of some artificial machinery and pretended incantations. Ordonio in the mean time himself destroys the Moor who had defeated his vengeance, and pursued by the hatred of his victim's widow, is in the moment when receiving the forgiveness and consolations of his brother and Teresa slain by a band whom she had collected and introduced to the dungeon where Alva had been confined.

The moral of this piece, inculcates the principle that though perfidy and cruelty combined with talent, may be for a while triumphant, yet that vengeance eventually and certainly befalls their enormities. Objections may be raised to the inadequacy of the causes assigned for the deep villainy of Ordonio; and the interposed contrivances towards the end of the piece, by their number rather bewilder the mind of the spectator. This is the contrary extreme from suffering him to discern in the first act who is to be successful, and by what means. Teresa, the heroine is well drawn. And on the whole, the piece, which was extremely well received, is honourable to the genius of its author, and reputable to the discernment of the managers of the new theatre.

COVENT GARDEN THEATRE.

Saturday, January 23. A new comedy was performed at this theatre intitled "*the Students of Salamanca*." Whether the author had any notion of a favourable augury in the name, we know not; but it seems at first sight strange enough that when the French have destroyed the greater part of this

famous university the character of its students should revive on the English stage the recollection of that seat of learning.

A Spanish story must have love, jealousy, intrigue, bustle and briskness; and this comedy has these requisities. It has moreover, a father vigilant and obstinate, but over-matched by the lover who *must* succeed in spite of him: a warm lover, and a supposed rival,—a lady who has bestowed her heart, unknown to parental authority,—an intriguing maid-servant—a subservient valet—a convenient damsel who may pass for her mistress, if need be,—an elopement, quarrel and avowal. What more can be required to render a Spanish comedy agreeable? The skill of the author in managing these personages is perhaps the chief subject for critical attention; and it is just to say, that as characters they sometimes please, and never disgust. The author had taken his full share of the licences; for some too gross as *double entendres* and rather plain single *entendres*, the audience reproved him, much to their honour; and to his discredit for hazarding such indecorum. He was more prodigal of bustle and incident towards the close of his story, and this saved the piece: which will be much amended by being shortened, and carefully revised.

The story is briefly as follows. Don Alonzo is a fellow student at Salamanca with Don Christoval: he is privately married to Donna Angelica, against the consent of her father, who intends another match for her. Don Christoval meets with Donna Aminta, at the house of her cousin Donna Angelica, and is favourably received by her. He relates his favourable reception to his fellow student, describes the house, &c. which Alonzo knows to be that where his wife resides; and he is persuaded that she is the object of Christoval's addresses. The jealousy of Alonzo respecting Angelica, and the jealousy of Aminta respecting Christoval furnish the *embarras* of the piece. This is further perplexed by the interference of Perilla the servant maid who answers letters in her mistresses name, and the ready officiousness of Miguel, servant to Christoval, who causes a letter to be conveyed—not to the mistress but her personating servant. Matters are so managed as to work up the passion of jealousy in the principal characters to great height; but when on the point of proceeding to extremes, Angelica escapes from her confinement, and Christoval from his: the lovers discover their mistakes, the consent of Don Gaspar, the father of Angelica is obtained by artifice, and all issues in harmony.

We should be glad to know what *real* Spaniards think of their representatives on the English Theatre! Do they acknowledge as their own these attributes of jealousy, intrigue, elopement, artifice, and personation?

MORALITY
OF THE
ENGLISH NOVEL AND ROMANCE

ILLUSTRATED BY

SELECTIONS OF SENTIMENT, CHARACTER, AND DESCRIPTION.

No. XVIII.

Though the same Sun, with all diffusive rays,
Blush in the Rose, and in the Diamond blaze,
We praise the stronger effort of his Power,
And always set the GEM above the Flower.

Pope.

Modern Wife choosing.

Think not then, my dear Samuel, if you would be happily married, of being spared the trouble of courtship: look carefully about you, and while you are acquiring the means of maintaining a wife, you will have leisure to examine the characters of the young women with whom you are acquainted. Distrust above all things the designs of those fathers and mothers, who having many daughters appear anxious to draw young men continually to their houses. Such young women are generally educated with no other idea than that of *getting husbands*, as the phrase is; that is, they have a smattering given them of a few showy accomplishments, and are taught to study dress, and the art of setting off their persons to the best advantage, as the most important avocations of female life. This is no less the case with women in the station of life in which you may look for a wife, than with those in the higher classes; for the vices and follies of the great are always imitated in regular gradation, by all the descending ranks in society. While the duchess spares no pains to set off her daughters so as to catch the hearts of the dukes and marquises,—while all her artillery is played off in the West to take them by storm,—the merchant's wife keeps up a no less assiduous fire with her small arms upon her mercantile neighbours in the East.

Let me not here be understood, however, to throw an indiscriminate censure on either class. Among the nobility of the country, notwithstanding the too general relaxation of manners and morals, there may still be found mothers who may be held out as patterns in the discharge of the maternal duties, and whose daughters are educated rather with the idea of seeking the approbation of their God, than the admiration of thoughtless man. And it is the same with the inferior classes:—there are still many among the mercantile part of the community, whose daughters are educated to be notable in the management of their family concerns, and to be rather characters of solid worth than outside show.

But these are not the houses, Samuel, where your acquaintance will be the most eagerly sought. Where daughters are thus educated, the father and mother like to know the character, connections, and occupations of a young man, before he is received in their family. They will be rather disposed to keep you at a distance than to court your intimacy, and only when they know you thoroughly, and are convinced of your good qualities, will permit your visiting at their houses on social terms. The acquaintance of one such family is however worth a dozen of those who solicit your company earnestly, without any knowledge of who or what you are;—'tis from the bosom of such a family that you have the best chance of drawing a prize in the lottery of matrimony. These hints I venture to throw out, it is for your own good sense to apply and improve upon them. Justly do we term marriage a change of condition;—it is a change indeed;—it is the commencement of a total revolution, I may almost call it, in all our habits and manners, almost in all our ideas;—the world seems at that moment to assume a new aspect to us.—*Miss Plumtre's History of Myself and My Friend.*

Characters considered: the ardent and the ordinary.

I cannot see the use of superior talents, if they alone are not sufficient to guard their possessors from the errors of those who, in a limited capacity, at least find some excuse for their deviations,—peerishly interposed Mrs. Anbury.

If superior judgment always accompanied exalted talents, then, dear *Jemima*, might threefold guilt be attached to those who fell unresisting victims to their passions, said *Montgomery*: this unhappily seldom is the case. That sensibility which, properly directed views with enthusiasm, and describes with ardour, the beauties of either the moral or natural world, and, from reflection, learns to imitate the exemplifications it depicts, even that acuteness of feeling, from neglect becomes the rock on which the feeble machine it impels is in danger of being wrecked for ever. Without religion, moral propensities avail little; for the mind accustomed to consider the chances of this life as the *ne plus ultra* of reward or punishment, must, and will be the slave of temptation and of appetite; but leaving religion out of the argument for the present, I cannot agree with you that sanity of intellect is an excuse for error; with a weak understanding, we generally find an obstinacy so tenacious of self-opinion, that a man of that description, with even a commonly good disposition, is not so liable to be led astray as an infinitely fierce one, whose vivid imagination is open

so every impression, and who, with all the fire of genius, has also its usual unsuspecting ductility of temper: but take two children as yet in early age, and alike uncontaminated by example or by prejudice; let one of them be the pupil of sensibility, the other one of every-day feeling and ability; let them be equally instructed in their moral and religious duties; let the mode of instruction differ in no essential point, but only where the peculiar habit or disposition of the children require it; and after the most assiduous and equal distribution of knowledge and instruction; I will engage that the child whose impressionable nature might have become vitiated by neglect, here proves himself the incalculably finer character of the two; for who can so ardently love his God as he whose susceptibility of every thing good and great enables him more justly to appreciate the wondrous productions of Almighty Power, or who so kindly befriend his fellow-man, as he who, conscious of the wants and weakness of humanity, bears a heart glowing with the social affections, and swelling with an inextinguishable desire to alleviate the woes, and contribute to the welfare, present and eternal, of those who now are children of the earth, but with himself heirs also of immortality and Heaven?—*Old Times and New; or Sir Lionel and his Protégé.*

OBSERVATIONS ON PARTICULAR PASSAGES
IN THE SECOND VOLUME OF DR. CLARKE'S
TRAVELS,—IN GREECE, EGYPT, AND THE
HOLY LAND.

NO. I.

Dr. Clarke's Travels have set in a new light so many things belonging to the countries through which he passed, that it seems highly desirable to turn his discoveries to a better account than can be done by a mere review of his volumes.

Dr. C. writes not for himself, but for the public. His learning is unquestionable; his personal exertions have been great—but no individual can be fully informed of every thing. Apelles himself stood corrected in the form of a sandal: and it may be, that from having pursued a course of study somewhat different from that of the Dr., though greatly inferior, the present writer may be able to point out defects, which, if the Dr. should think proper to explain or correct, he will surpass, in condescension, the Prince of the Painters.

Intimacy with any subject contributes not only facility, but certainty, to judgment. The practiced eye detects differences, which to common observers are invisible; and these are not seldom of the greatest advantage to after enquirers.

In his first volume Dr. Clarke more particularly described the mounds, or raised cones of earth, the tombs of departed chiefs, than any writer had done before him; and the observations he had made on those in the south of Russia, eminently qualified him for examination of others which exist in the Troad. In like manner, his accurate inspection of the tombs at Telmessus, as well those cut in the rock—*chamber-tombs*, as those consisting of immense stones, square and massy, somewhat like our own *grave-tombs*, gave him great advantage in distinguishing the peculiarities of similar structures at Jerusalem.

As our connection with India has increased within these few years, and we are become better acquainted with the ancient learning of that exhaustless country, public opinion sets the more strongly in favour of Central Asia, as having been the primary seat of learning and science. We are already familiar with a part of the religion and of the poetry, of the jurisprudence and manners of early India; at least, sufficient to warrant the inference, that much, very much, remains unknown to us. But if India were the original seat of our race, it might be presumed, from the general disposition of mankind, that we should find traces of imitation in those settlements which were formed in distant countries, by the emigrants from thence;—and it is in support of this proposition, I mean, at present, to derive evidence from the discoveries of Dr. Clarke. Whatever be my success in proving the point, your readers, Sir, will be highly entertained with the extracts which my undertaking will oblige me to make; and in these they will not be disappointed.

It is now some years since the venerable and learned Jacob Bryant called the attention of the learned world to the discussion of an opinion, that the war of Troy, so famous among us by that wonderful poem, the *Iliad*, was a mere poetical fiction; that no such city as Troy ever existed; and that the war, with its heroes, was altogether ideal. The extent of learning with which this startling proposition was maintained, gave great popularity to the subject; and since that time, many inquisitive men have directed their steps to the place where Troy was understood to have been built, and where the combats took place, which distinguished its attack and defence. All who visited the localities saw monuments, evidently the works of remote ages; but not all were happy enough to extend their geographical researches sufficiently into the surrounding districts, to secure their observations from criticism, perhaps from cavil. To the more spirited and judicious conduct of Dr. C. I am indebted for information, which I intend to direct to a purpose somewhat different; and therefore

shall no further pursue this train of thought, at present. I cannot, however, but express my sincere regret that the Dr. has not favoured us with a map, containing the whole of his route in the neighbourhood of Troy. When, as in the following extracts we find him on Mount Ida—on Mount Gargarus—we naturally turn to his vignette map—it is not marked there: to his general map—it is not marked there: so that whether Mount Gargarus be east, west, north, or south of Troy, his map leaves completely undecided. For the best information on this subject, we must have recourse to the second volume of Comte de Choiseul's "Greece," and in that learned Frenchman's work, we may find it. Is not this reference a severe censure on the English writer?

In the following extracts, we know not which most to admire, the judgment, the perseverance, or the undaunted spirit of this traveler. He is now on mount Ida.

"The place where all these antiquities have been discovered, is rather a conical mountain than a hill, bearing the name of *Küchânlu Têpe*, at two hours distance from Beyramitch, towards Gargarus. Indeed it has been placed by nature so as to resemble a sort of advanced position at the base of that mountain, immediately beneath its summit. The Mender or Seamander, flows at its foot. The river is here generally called Kisdaghy, from the name now given to Gargarus, the mountain whence it issues. The principal site of the antiquities upon *Küchânlu Têpe*, is about half way up the site of the immense cone bearing that name; but very remarkable remains may be traced thence all the way to the summit. The first appearance that struck us, was an oblong area, ninety-two yards long and fifty-four wide, covered with fragments of *terra cotta*, and also with pieces of ancient glass, such as lachrymatories, and other small vessels. On the north side, part of a wall remained, by which the area was originally enclosed, about fourteen feet high. The work seemed to be of the age of the Romans, from the baked tiles, four inches thick, and the cement used in its construction. On the western extremity of the area were considerable remains of baths, whose stuccoed walls and expensive conduits were still entire, in several places. An excavation had been made by the Turks, on the south side, for the stones of the foundation, to the depth of twenty-two feet. By the appearance of the foundation, the walls, on this side, at least, were double, and admitted a passage between them. Above this area (perhaps that of a temple), towards the north, were tombs. We entered an arched vault, thirteen yards long, and five wide, and saw near it the remains of a bath, wanting only the roof. Here lay some columns, sixteen

inches in diameter, among pieces of broken amphoræ, fragments of marble, granite, basalt, blue chalcedony, and jasper. [On a broken slab of marble, a few Greek letters.] We presently came to the cornice of a Doric entablature, of such prodigious size, that our artist, M. Preaux, said he had seen nothing like it in Athens. There were other Doric remains; and the shaft of one Corinthian column, twenty-two inches diameter, distinguished from the Doric in having the edges of the anelure flat instead of sharp. Higher upon the hill we found the remains of another temple; the area of this measured one hundred and forty yards long, and forty-four wide.....As the temples of Jupiter were all of the Doric order, it is very probable, whatever may be the antiquity of these works, that here was the situation of the temple of Itean Jove, mentioned by Homer, by Æschylus, and by Plutarch. Their situation with respect to Gargarus, precisely agrees with Homer's description. According to Æschylus, they were ΕΝ ΙΔΙΩ ΙΗΑΩΙ and the highest point of all the Itean chain extends itself into the plain in such a manner, that the hill at its base, upon which these ruins appear, is, in fact, a part of Gargarus itself. The baths point out the history of the place, and there are warm springs in the neighbourhood. The original temple was therefore, probably, a very ancient one of Jupiter Liberator, situated near the heights of Ida, on the site of which, in later ages, these buildings were accumulated. The most remarkable part of the description is now to be related, as it seems to refer pointedly to superstitions concerning the summit of that mountain bearing the name of Gargarus, held by the ancients in such veneration, as the seat of the immortal Gods. A spacious winding road, sixteen yards in breadth, rises from the remains of these temples to the top of the *Küchânlu*. All the way up may be noticed traces of former works; but upon the summit, a small oblong area, six yards in length and two in breadth, exhibits marks of the highest antiquity. The stones forming the inclosure are as rude as those of the walls of Tirinthus in Argolis; and the whole is encircled by a grove of venerable oaks, covering the top of the cone. The entrance to this area is from the south: upon the east and west, from the outside of the trees, are stones ranged like what we in England, call druidical circles. From hence the view is grand indeed. Immediately before the eye, is spread the whole extent of Gargarus: seeming, from its immense size, and the vastness of its features, as if those who were stationed on this spot might hold converse with persons upon its clear and snowy summit. A bold and sweeping ridge descends from its top to the very base of the cone of

Káchánlá Tépe; and this, as a natural altar, stands before the mountain. Far below is seen the bed of the Scamander, bearing a westward course from the place of its origin. P. 130—132.....

On the following morning, by day break, the sky being cloudless, we began to ascend towards the summit of the mountain. During the greatest part of the year, Gargarus, like *Ætna*, is characterized by a triple zone; first, a district of cultivated land; afterwards, an assemblage of forests; and lastly, towards the summit, a region of snow and ice....In this region of Gargarus, there are many wild boars. Our guides shewed us marks left by the feet of tigers. They find also leopards in these woods....Our guides began to talk of the impossibility of reaching the top of the mountain....Our little party by the number of stragglers, was soon reduced to a small band....I prevailed on Mr. Cripps, much against his inclination, to remain behind; and by making holes for our hands and feet, advanced with the guide. The mountain has four points of eminence towards the summit, each of which is higher than the other. Our progress led to the third of these; the lowest, except one; from hence the transition to the base of the second point, over the frozen ridge of the mountain, was made without difficulty; although the slope on each side presented a frightful precipice of above a thousand feet. At the base of the second point, viewing the sheet of ice before him, my guide positively refused to proceed; and finding me determined to make the trial, he began to scream with all his might, breaking off with his feet some nodules of frozen snow, in order to intimidate me, by shewing how the smallest fragment set in motion was carried into the gulph on either side below us. The ascent was, to be sure, somewhat critical, and could only be effected by a ladder of ice. I cut holes for my hands and feet, my face touching the surface of the steep as I continued climbing. The north wind blew with a degree of violence that made the undertaking more difficult; for my fingers, almost frozen lost their feeling. A tiger, when the snow was fresher, had left the impression of his feet; and these marks proved a valuable guidance to me, in shewing the direction I was to pursue. In this manner I reached the second point. Still a long and laborious tract was before me; but the greatest difficulty was over. I advanced with eagerness over an aerial ridge toward the highest point of all, where no vestige of any living being could be discerned. Here the ascent was easier than before; and in a few minutes I stood upon the summit. What a spectacle! All European Turkey, and the whole of Asia Minor, seemed as it were modelled before me on a vast surface of glass. The great objects drew my attention first; afterwards I examined each particular place with

minute observation. The eye roaming to Constantinople, beheld all the Sea of Marmora, the mountains of Prasa, with Asiatic Olympus, and all the surrounding territory; comprehending, in one wide survey, all Propontis and the Hellespont, with the shores of Thrace and Chersonessus, all the north of the *Ægean*, Mount Athos, the islands of Imbrus, Samothrace, Lemnos, Tenedos, and all beyond even to Eubœa; the Gulph of Smyrna, almost all Mysia, and Bythionia, with part of Lydia and Ionia. Looking down upon Troas, it appeared spread as a lawn before me. I distinctly saw the course of the Scamander through the Trojan Plain to the Sea. The visible appearance of the river like a silver thread, offered a clue to other subjects. I could discern the tomb of *Æsyetes*, and even Bonarbashy. At the base of the mountain, and immediately below my eyes, stood the conical hill of *Káchánlá Tépe*, on whose sides and summit are the ruins before described. Nothing could be better calculated to shew the erroneous nature of all the maps published of the country, than my situation here....There is yet another singular appearance from the summit of the mountain; and as this is pointedly alluded to by Homer, it seems to offer strong reason for believing that the poet had himself beheld it from the same place. Looking towards Lectum, the tops of all the *Idæan* chain diminish in altitude by regular gradation, so as to resemble a series of steps, conducting to Gargarus, as to the highest point of the whole. Nothing can therefore more forcibly illustrate the powers of Homer as a painter, in the display he has given of the country, and the fidelity with which he delineates every feature in the geography, than the ascent of Juno from Lectum to Gargarus; by a series of natural eminences, unattainable, indeed, by mortal tread, but presenting, to the great conception of poetical fancy, a scale adequate to the power and dignity of superior beings.

On all the points of this mountain, former adventurers have raised heaps of stones, as marks of their enterprize. These were now nearly buried in snow. I availed myself of one of them, to ascertain the temperature of the atmosphere, by placing my thermometer in the shade. It was now mid-day, and the sky without a cloud. The mercury soon fell to the freezing point, but did not sink lower during the time I remained. As I descended, not a trace of my feet could be discovered, and I unfortunately passed, without noticing, the particular part of the steep leading to the third point of the mountain, where I had gained the height. In this manner I lost my way, and wandered about, for three hours, over dreadful chasms and icy precipices, in a state of painful anxiety; until at last, overcome with excessive fatigue,

thirst, and cold, I sunk down upon a bleak ridge, and moistened my mouth by eating snow. To my great comfort, I experienced both refreshment and warmth; my benumbed fingers recovered their sensation, and I again endeavoured to walk. Looking down towards the south west, I perceived, at an immense depth below, the very guide who had deserted me, endeavouring to climb towards the third point of the mountain, but always retreating back, and at last giving up the attempt. Exerting every effort, I succeeded in making this man hear me; he then remained as a mark, directing me to the ridge on which I ascended. When I came to this horrid place, all my resolution forsook me. I could not persuade myself I had climbed up a steep so terrible; but presently perceived the holes before made for my feet. Upon this, striking my heels into the hardened snow, so as to form a stay for my support, I sat down, and by slow degrees ventured off the declivity; sliding sometimes for a yard or two, and then stopping, so as not to acquire a greater velocity than I could check, by forcing in the staff of my pipe, [the Turkish pipe is sometimes fashioned to serve as a walking staff; it is then tipped with horn.] and one of my heels at the same time. A slip to the right or left would infallibly have carried me over a precipice on either side, the ridge whereon I descended, resembling in its form the roof of a house. The guide was now heard, bawling to me to steer this way, or that, as he fancied I inclined too much to one side or to the other, and acting as a beacon for my course, until I reached the spot where he stood: when having caught me in his arms, he cried out with great joy, "*Allah! Allah!*" There was still much to be done; and this we happily got over. About a mile lower down we found our companions. Having in vain tried to light a fire, they were all huddled together near the higher boundary of the second region of the mountain, waiting in the utmost inquietude. Here our flaggon of brandy was soon emptied; and our guide, who had accompanied me, proved that old customs still prevailed in the country, by vowing to sacrifice a fat ram, for the events of the day, as soon as he reached the village—which was about two hours after dark. p. 140.

Note.—During the heat of summer, the glacier on this mountain is dissolved, and the ascent rendered thereby much more easy. The Earl of Aberdeen informed me that he afterwards succeeded in visiting the summit without difficulty, by choosing a more advanced season of the year.

March 11.—We set out again to visit the cataract, which constitutes the source of the Mender, on the northwest side of Gargarus. Our ascent, as we drew near to the source of

the river, became steep and stony. Lofty summits towered above us, in the greatest style of Alpine grandeur; the torrent on its rugged bed below, all the while foaming on our left. Presently we entered one of the sublimest natural amphitheatres the eye ever beheld; and here, the guides desired us to alight. The noise of waters silenced every other sound. Huge craggy rocks rose perpendicularly to an immense height, whose sides and fissures, to the very clouds, concealing their tops, were covered with pines; growing in every possible direction, among a variety of evergreen shrubs, wild sage, hanging ivy, moss, and creeping herbage. Enormous plane trees waved their vast branches above the torrent. As we approached its deep gulph, we beheld several cascades, all of foam, pouring impetuously from chasms in the naked face of a perpendicular rock. It is said, the same magnificent cataract continues during all seasons of the year, wholly unaffected by the casualties of rain or melting snow. That a river so ennobled by ancient history should at the same time prove equally eminent in circumstances of natural dignity, is a fact worthy of being related. Its origin is not like the source of ordinary streams, obscure and uncertain; of doubtful locality and indeterminate character: ascertained with difficulty, among various petty subdivisions, in swampy places or amidst insignificant rivolets, falling from different parts of the same mountain, and equally tributary: it bursts at once from the dark womb of its parent, in all the greatness of the divine origin assigned to it by Homer. The early christians, who retired or fled from the haunts of society to the wildernesses of Gargarus, seem to have been fully sensible of the effect produced by grand objects, in selecting, as the place of their abode, the scenery near the source of the Scamander; where the voice of nature speaks in her most awful tone; where, amidst roaring waters, waving forests, and broken precipices, the mind of man becomes impressed, as by the influence of a present Deity.

A beautiful natural basin, six or eight feet deep, served as a reservoir for the water in the first moments of its emission. It was so clear, that the minutest object might be discerned at the bottom. The copious overflowing of this reservoir causes the appearance, to a spectator below, of different cascades, falling to the depth of about forty feet; but there is only one source. Behind are the chasms whence the water issues. We entered one of these, and passed into a cavern: here the water appeared, rushing with great force, beneath the rock, toward the basin on the outside. It was the coldest spring we had found in the country; the mercury in the thermometer falling, in two minutes, to 34°

Fahrenheit. When placed in the reservoir immediately above the fall, where the water was more exposed to the atmosphere, its temperature was three degrees higher. The whole rock about the source is covered with moss. Close to the basin grew hazel and plane trees; above were oaks and pines; all beyond was a naked and fearful precipice. About one hundred and fifty yards below the source, is a hot spring, close to the bed of the river.—P. 145.

The particulars deserving notice in these extracts are—the temples of *Kachaulá Têpe*; but these are the works of later ages, and shew the continued sanctity of this hill:—the sacred inclosure on the top, with the grove of oaks;—and the druidical circles:—its approximation to the head of Gargarus, as if a person could hold converse with others on the summit of that mountain.—The summit of Gargarus, now covered with snow:—the view from thence;—the origin of the Scamander, bursting at once from the rocks; the coldness of its waters; and the natural idea of sanctity and religion attached to this awe-inspiring region.

These will form subjects of separate considerations. I am,

Sir,

Yours, &c.

FIDELIS.

OBSERVANDA EXTERNA.

AMERICA, UNITED STATES.

Hopeful imitation of the Gallic inflated style.—Proclamation of the American General Smyth.

"Companions in arms!—The time is at hand when you will cross the stream of Niagara, to conquer Canada, and to secure the peace of the American frontier. You will enter a country that is to be one of the United States. You will arrive among a people, who are to become your fellow-citizens. It is not against them we come to make war, but against the government that holds them as vassals. You will make this war as little as possible distressful to the Canadian people. If they are peaceable, they are to be secure in their persons, and in their property, as far as our imperious necessities will allow. Private plundering is absolutely forbidden. Any soldier who quits his rank to plunder on the field of battle, will be punished in the most exemplary manner. But your just rights as soldiers will be maintained. Whatever is booty by the usages of war, you shall have. All horses belonging to artillery and cavalry—all waggons and teams in public service, will be sold for the benefit of the captors: public stores will be secured for the service of the United States. The government will, with justice, pay you the value. The horses drawing the light artillery of the enemy, are

wanted for the service of the United States. I will order two hundred dollars for each to be paid to the party who may take them. I will also order forty dollars to be paid for the arms and spoils of each *savage warrior*, who shall be killed. Soldiers! You are *amply provided* for war. You are superior in number to the enemy. Your personal strength and activity are greater. Your weapons are *longer*. The regular soldiers of the enemy are generally old men, whose best years have been spent in the sickly climate of the West Indies. They will not be able to stand before you when you charge with the bayonet. You have seen Indians, such as those hired by the British to murder women and children, and kill and scalp the wounded: you have seen their dances and grimaces, and heard their yells; can you fear them? No: you hold them in the utmost contempt. Volunteers! disloyal and traitorous men have endeavoured to dissuade you from doing your duty. Sometimes they say, if you enter Canada you will be held to service for five years. At other times they say, that if you are wounded, the government will *not provide* for you by pensions. The just and generous course pursued by government towards the volunteers who fought at Ticonderoga, furnishes an answer to the last objection. The others are too absurd to deserve any. Volunteers! I esteem your generous and patriotic motives. You have made sacrifices on the altar of your country. You will not suffer the enemies of your fame to deprive you of the esteem of a grateful country. You will shun the eternal infamy that awaits the man, who, having come within sight of the enemy, basely shrinks in the moment of trial. Soldiers of every corps! It is in your power to retrieve the honour of your country, and cover yourselves with glory. Every man who performs a gallant action shall have his name made known to the nation. Rewards and honours await the brave. Infamy and contempt are reserved for cowards. Companions in arms! you came to vanquish a valiant foe. I know the choice you will make. Come on my heroes! and when you attack the enemy's batteries, let your rallying word be, "the cannon lost at Detroit—or death."

ALEX. SMYTH, Brig.-Gen. commanding.
Camp near Buffalo, Nov. 17, 1812.

State of the Western Army.—To the people of Kentucky. Head-quarters, Piqua, Oct. 25, 1812. Upon the point of leading these brave men into a rigorous northern climate, I discover that many of them are without blankets, and much the greater part of them totally destitute of every article of winter clothing. It is impracticable to procure the articles necessary for them from the stores and there is no alternative but in your feeling and patriotism.

Can any patriot sleep easy in his bed of down, when he reflects upon the situation of a sentinel exposed to the cold of a winter's night in Canada, in a linen hunting shirt? Will the amiable fair sex suffer their brave defenders to be mutilated by the frost for the want of mittens or socks, which they can, with so little exertion procure them? Blankets, overalls, roundabout jackets, shoes, socks, and mittens, are the articles wanted. Colonel Thomas Cuford, Deputy Commissary-general, will provide for the transportation of the articles, and will pay for the blankets and shoes, should it be required. Lindsey roundabouts, double or lined, will answer the purpose.

W. H. HARRISON.

AUSTRIA.

Benevolence.—Vienna, December. Grand concerts are given every fortnight in this capital, the produce of which is to be thrown into the box of the ladies of benevolence.

Secret Society.—The police lately discovered a secret society, the members of which assembled without the barriers, among them were several public functionaries. As the functionaries in general, on entering into the service of the state, engage on oath not to be members of any secret society, these have received their dismissal. Such strangers as had been admitted into this secret society, have received orders to leave the capital.

DENMARK.

Severe Season.—Copenhagen, Dec. 19. The intense cold still continues, in consequence of the east wind. Reaumur's thermometer is 13 below zero. From our custom-house to the coast of Sweden, the Sound presents only one continued surface of ice; and should the frost continue a little longer, it will soon be passable on foot.

FRANCE.

Military Sensibility!!!—Paris, Dec. 27. There was a grand parade to-day in the Place Carousel. In passing before the Paris regiment, his majesty expressed his disapprobation at the conduct manifested upon a recent occasion, by a part of that regiment. His majesty's words made so deep an impression, that tears were seen to run from the eyes of several of the officers and sub-officers.

INDIES WEST.

Hurricane at Jamaica.—A very lamentable accident occurred at New-garden plantation, in the parish of Port Royal, in the night of Oct. 12. A hill, completely saturated with water, from the violent rains, fell down, and overwhelmed a negro-house, in which were five negroes, the property of Mr. William Friend. Four of them were killed, the fifth, the mother of three of the unfortunate persons, was most miraculously dug out, after

having been a considerable time covered in the ruins. At Salt-hill, in the same parish, a piece of about sixteen acres of land, with a small house on it, sunk down, and was afterwards swept to the distance of three or four hundred yards from its original situation, without occasioning any injury to the house. The lake at Rio Ho, in St. Ann's, has risen considerably since the violent rains, and continues to increase very perceptibly.

Emperor, &c. &c. disposed of. No I.—The last accounts from St. Domingo state, that Petion had completely triumphed, and that the Emperor Christophe had been killed by one of his aides-de-camp. Thus there is an end to the imperial government of St. Domingo, and its sable dukes, counts, marshals, &c.

Earthquake.—Kingston, Wednesday, Nov. 10. Yesterday morning, about ten minutes before six o'clock, a most alarming earthquake was experienced in this city and its vicinity, accompanied by a loud rumbling noise, which continued for at least 30 seconds, during which, indeed, there were three distinct shocks. The oldest inhabitants remember nothing so severe, since the terrible convulsion which swallowed up Port Royal; and we have little doubt that another shock, equally violent, would have completely demolished the most substantial buildings. There are several persons here who were in the Caracacas, when the dreadful earthquake happened there, on the 26th March last, which proved so destructive to that city, who state, that the shocks were not so severe as those we felt yesterday—perhaps the great demolition suffered in the Caracacas, may have been occasioned by the loose sandy soil on which their buildings are erected. The church of this city is much damaged; the walls above the doors and windows are split, particularly in the steeple. The old synagogue in Orange-street has suffered, the walls being split in several places. The west barracks at Up Park Camp, occupied by the 18th regiment, are considerably injured, the walls being cracked in almost every direction, and part fallen in. The earth was rent likewise in several places at the east end of this city. A great many chimnies have been thrown down, and the walls of several houses and stores very severely split, and parts of others thrown down. The watchman at the dock-yard, a few minutes previous to the shock, observed a large meteor, which passed in a direction from the south-east to the north-west. The shock is stated to have lasted one minute, and some seconds.

ITALY; ADRIATIC.

A good Bargain to a knowing one.—At a sale of a prize lately, at Lissa, belonging to the *Alcanece*, a bag of fine flax was sold for

70 dollars; which it afterwards came out, unknown to the prize agent, was bought by the owner, and contained several valuable gold repeating watches!—That island, we are informed, is going on very prosperously, since it has been made a free port.

NORWAY.

Distressed State.—A letter from an English settler at Christiansand, in Norway, of Jan. 12, says:—In consequence of the failure of the harvest in this country, the peasantry are reduced to a state of starvation. We are endeavouring to afford every relief to the poor in the interior; but owing to their having lived some time on skins, putrid flesh, and bread made partly of the bark of trees, a dreadful mortality has broken out, and carried off in six weeks, upwards of 5000 souls. Many thousands are now dying for want of food. The king of Denmark has ordered some relief from Zealand.

POLAND.

Exhausted State of the Country: Blessings of the Continental System.—Warsaw, Dec. 1. Report addressed to the King (of Saxony) by the Council of Ministers. "The Duchy of Warsaw, deprived, from the commencement of its existence, by the course of events, of a vent for the produce of its own soil; compelled, on the other hand, to purchase for ready money the raw material for manufactures which this country does not produce, was obliged to struggle incessantly against pressing wants, by measures the inefficacy of which increased in proportion to the diminution of private fortunes and public funds.

The extraordinary drought of the summer before last, which ruined the harvest, put the last hand to so many calamities. But notwithstanding this, the year, which elapsed between the 1st of June, 1811, and the 31st May, 1812, was not less distinguished by the efforts made by the Duchy of Warsaw to augment the armed force, and execute such measures as prudence did not permit to neglect.

Reinforcements amounting to 4,623 men, and 4,580 horses; with the levy of 33,784 conscripts raised the army to its highest degree of completeness. At the commencement of the war, it amounted to 74,722 men, and 12,285 horses, of which the country had furnished 10,876, by way of contribution.

It has also furnished in all, 345 waggons of every kind, with the requisite teams, for ammunition, for field forges, moveable hospitals, the train of artillery, and field bakeries. The medicine chests for the army and the fortresses were supplied with all the necessary stores.

The Duchy besides furnished the French military administration, at a fixed price, with

490 four-horse waggons, and 1200 two-horse carriages.

RUSSIA.

French Comedians expelled.—St. Petersburg, Nov. 20. An Edict was, on the 18th November, addressed, by his Imperial Majesty, to Mr. Alexander Narishkin, chief manager of the theatre, wherein the Emperor, deeming the company of French comedians quite unnecessary, in the present state of affairs, was pleased to signify his will, that all the actors and actresses, composing the same, both at St. Petersburg and Moscow, should be immediately dismissed. In another Edict, addressed, on the same day, to Field-marshal Count Nickolay Solitkoff, his Majesty directs, that the fund appropriated for supporting the said Company, shall be converted to the relief of the inhabitants of those places which have been desolated by the enemy.

Honourable Title.—Marshal Kutousoff has been created Prince of Smolensko, in consequence of his late brilliant achievements in the destruction of the corps of Ney and Davoust.

TURKEY.

Decapitation of Public Officers.—Nov. 7, Prince Demitri Morousi, ci devant Hospodar of Moldavia, and one of the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Bucharest, who signed the treaty of peace with Russia, was decapitated at Schumla, the headquarters of the Grand Vizier, agreeably to orders transmitted by the Grand Seigneur.

He was implicated in the affair that caused the dismission and banishment of the late Grand Vizier, and some others employed in superior situations by the Porte. Manug Bey, the richest individual in Rudschuck, who formerly was employed by the Porte, and who during the last war rendered some services to the Russians, for which the Emperor conferred on him the Order of Wladimir, has also been put to death by order of the Porte; his property has been confiscated.

OBSERVANDA INTERNA.

Timber-bending Machine burst.—Lately, a shocking accident occurred in the dock-yard, Woolwich. A machine, used for the purpose of bending and seasoning ship-timber, unfortunately burst, in consequence of being over-charged, by which eight individuals lost their lives, and fourteen were dangerously hurt, some having their legs and thighs broken. The premises on which the machine stood were destroyed; and the explosion is represented as having been most terrific. Several of the men, it is said, have left wives and families. It having been reported, that this dreadful explosion was not a matter of accident, but was the act of some evil-dis-

posed persons, the lords of the admiralty dispatched Lavender, the Bow-street officer, to make the necessary enquiries. Mr. Lukin, the artist who erected the work, also hastened to the spot. Upon an investigation and explanation of the circumstances, it appeared that the works had been erected on new made ground, and the walls, in some parts, had given way several inches, so as to admit the atmospheric air, which was the cause of the explosion.

New Allowance to Debtors.—The act of Parliament passed last session, commonly called Mr. Stewart Wortley's act, being introduced by that gentleman, enacts, "that great distress being suffered by poor persons being confined under *mesne process* for debt, in such jails as are not county-jails, that any one justice, acting for the county, &c. in which such jail may be situated, may order the overseer of the poor of the parish in which the jail is, to pay a sum, not exceeding six-pence per day, to such poor debtor, on his application to the overseers, during the time of his confinement for debt under *mesne process*; and that such money advanced shall be repaid by the parish to which such debts belongs; and in case the debtor has no parish in England and Wales, the said allowance to be repaid out of the county rate."—Small and inadequate as the pittance of six-pence per day is, to the support of human life, we cannot but highly applaud the humane principle of this act.

Increased Revenue.—The revenues of Trinity College, Cambridge, are so much increased, as to admit of a considerable augmentation this year to the fellowships of that flourishing society.

Partridges caught at Sea!—A few days since, fourteen brace of partridges, all alive and strong, were taken up at sea, by a fishing boat off Sherringham: when the boat approached them they made no effort to escape.

Number of Licences for the issue of promissory notes payable on demand, for the year ending Oct. 10, 1812.

Bankers' licences renewed in England and Wales, including new branches of banks already established 759
New banks 60
To Scotland 53

Total 878

The Net Receipt of the War Taxes to Oct. 10, 1811, was £22,649,310. 0s. 9½d. Ditto, for 1812 was, £21,822,532. 14s. 10½d. being a falling off of about £800,000.

The Net Receipt of the Consolidated Fund for the former year was, £40,451,558. 1s. 5½d. Ditto for the latter, £41,126,909. 19s. 9½d. being an increase in the latter.

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The Amount of unclaimed Dividends, on the 10th of October last, was £1,055,993. Of this, there had been advanced to government at various periods, £876,739.

London General Bill of all the christenings and burials from December 10, 1811, to December 15, 1812:—

Christened in the 97 parishes within the walls, 1020—buried, 1167.

Christened in the 17 parishes without the walls, 4284—buried, 3837.

Christened in the 23 out-parishes in Middlesex and Surrey, 11,284—buried, 9416.

Christened in the 10 parishes in the city and liberties of Westminster, 3816—buried, 3875.

Christened.

Males . . . 10,388 } In all 20,404
Females . . . 10,016 }

Buried.

Males . . . 9,396 } In all 18,295
Females . . . 8,899 }

Whereof have died,

Under 2 yrs. of age	5636	50 and 60 . .	1543
Between 2 and 5	1907	60 and 70 . .	1425
5 and 10 . . .	655	70 and 80 . .	1193
10 and 20 . .	620	80 and 90 . .	492
20 and 30 . .	1226	90 and 100 . .	71
30 and 40 . .	1685	100 and 2 . .	1
40 and 50 . .	1841		

Increased in the burials this year, 1292.

There have been executed in the city of London and county of Surrey, 20; of which number, 6 only have been reported to be buried within the bills of mortality.

Discovery of Valuable Stone.—Mr. Bakewell, who has been engaged in a mineralogical examination of the inexhaustible mineral wealth of Charnwood Forest, in Leicestershire, for the Earl of Moira, has lately discovered, amongst the granitic rocks of that district, a variety of Sienite of singular beauty, surpassing that from Egypt, or the continent of Europe. Like other stones of this species, it consists principally of hornblende and felspar; the latter is of a pale red colour, the former is crystalline, and of a beautiful green, resembling Smaragdite. It exists in large blocks, and might be applied to purposes of ornamental or sepulchral architecture, and sculpture. It is from this kind of stone that the durable monuments of antiquity were constructed.

IRELAND.

Population of Ireland.—Dublin, Jan. 1. The Census, or account of the population of Ireland, commences on the 1st of May next, and is returnable the 28th of June.

There have been several accounts taken of the population of Dublin: the earliest is that in 1644, when the total population is stated at 8159, of which 4700 were women; but the density of population in the old city alone, must then have been much greater;

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for, in 1672, but thirty-eight years after, there were, according to an account published by Mr. Bindon, a revenue commissioner, in 1734, not less than 1180 licenced ale-houses in Dublin, which would not average, according to the statement of 1644, above four men for the annual support of each ale-house. In 1672, there were in Dublin 5,500 houses; in 1730, the number was 11,280. In 1695, the entire population of Ireland is stated to have been 1,034,102; in 1730, 1,600,000. The number of inhabitants in Dublin, in 1777, is said to have been 127,203; in 1798, to have been 172,000.

Danger attending Copper Vessels from Oxydation.—An extraordinary illness lately occurred in Mr. Davidson's family, of Armagh (who have fortunately all recovered); the following is given as the cause of that accident:—

"In the rear of Mr. Davidson's house, there are two large vessels, one for receiving water from the town pipes, the other generally made use of in cleansing and washing bottles for his wine and porter store. Into the latter of these, some children had let fall a copper syphon, which was suffered to remain in that situation, unperceived by any of the family, for the last five months. On the morning of that day on which the alarming appearances took place, the water had not been supplied in as great quantity as usual from the basin, to the vessel in general use; the maid-servant, therefore (who was a stranger in the house), drew the water for the kitchen from the vessel which was full; the contents of which had been impregnated with verdigris. In this, the meat which Mr. Davidson and his family had eaten for dinner was boiled. Dinner had not been long over, when every individual who had eaten of the meat, was seized with nausea and vomiting: emetics were immediately administered, with tepid water to hasten their operation; but unfortunately the water was drawn from the same noxious fountain; a circumstance which served to increase the danger, and aggravate the symptoms.—It was, however, most fortunate, that the vessel in which the syphon had lain, was not furnished with a stop-cock, but, being open at top, the water was taken from the surface; for had the same quantity of water been drawn off from the bottom of the vessel, the virus, which is specifically heavier than water, and which consequently must have been collected in large quantities at the bottom, would, in all probability, have gone off with the current, and occasioned the death of the unsuspecting sufferers.—(*Belfast Paper.*)

SCOTLAND.

Consanguinity, versus Complexion. White against Black.—Court of Session, Edinburgh, Nov. 12. A. some time ago brought

forth a bastard child, and accused B. of being the father of it. B. when called before the session of the parish in which he resided, acknowledged guilt with A." but "refused being father of the child." A. having brought an action before the Court of Session for incurring expenses and aliment of the child against B., the Lord Ordinary repelled the defences, and decreed against the defender for the principal sum, and interest thereof, as libelled. The defender having somehow got notice, that the child laid to his charge by the pursuer was a *mulatto*, or child of colour, presented a reclaiming petition to the court, stating the fact, and the impossibility thence arising of the child's being his. The court appointed a commissioner to take inspection of the child in question, and to report. The report bears, that "the commissioner having proceeded to pursuer's place of residence, taking with him not only two medical men of the vicinity, who had been long resident in the island of Jamaica, whose opinions the surgeons (one of whom had also been in the West Indies) were desirous of being aided by; and having all seen the child in question which is a male, and examined it from head to foot, after being stripped, these four persons concurred in opinion with the commissioner, in the most decisive possible manner, that the child is of colour; that is, that the father of it is a negro, or other degree of an African: and which opinion the said several persons confirmed on oath, as administered to them by the commissioner." The court on advising this report, altered the Lord Ordinary's interlocutor, and assoilized the defender.

Farewell to the old year; procession and dancing.—A very gratifying occurrence took place at Jedburgh, on the last night of the old year, which pretty clearly manifests that the work people of that place, probably from habits of industry or moderation, happily do not experience the severity of those privations of which the inhabitants of other manufacturing towns are generally complaining. The stocking-makers of the four principal factories, to a very considerable number, assembled about five o'clock, and having formed themselves into companies, according to their seniority, with their foremen at their head, paraded the different streets of the town, in a very brilliant and well arranged torch-light procession, while the bells rang a merry peal, and a considerable band of music played the cheerful border airs of "Jenny dang the Weaver," and "the Braw Lads of Jethart." The companies then retired to different inns, and gave dances to their young female acquaintance, at which the greatest order and harmony was observed.

New Commercial Establishment at Kylesakin, Isle of Skye.—It having been repre-

sented to Lord Macdonald that great commercial advantage would result to the Western Isles, and to the opposite coast of the main land of Scotland, and also that facilities would be derived to the Baltic trade, and to various other maritime pursuits, from the establishment of a town at Kyleakin, in the isle of Skye, which is the most central situation of the western fisheries, and is in the direct track of the vessels engaged in the Baltic trade, he is determined to give every encouragement in his power towards the accomplishment of this important object. For this purpose he is resolved to grant fens in perpetuity, upon moderate terms. A plan of a town has been prepared, the streets lined off, and plans and elevations of houses for different classes of people, have been made out. The intended site of this town is beautifully picturesque; the harbour is extensive, and one of the most secure in the kingdom. The excellence of the anchoring ground is well known to all mariners—the beach is entirely clear of rock, and the water so deep, that vessels of 500 tons might ride with safety within thirty yards of the shore. Kyleakin is contiguous to the main roads of communication between the Western Isles and the continent of Scotland; the situation affords a command of water for machinery of all descriptions; there are pasture grounds, and abundance of moss for fuel, within a convenient distance of the place. Amongst the advantages of this situation, there is sufficiency of excellent building stone on the spot, and an inexhaustible store of lime within six miles, where it may be had either in the shell or slaked, at a moderate price, and from whence it may be transported by water. Mr. Telford, the engineer employed by government, who has surveyed all the harbours on the western coast, was so struck with the superior advantages of the position of Kyleakin, that he has recommended to government to contribute towards the erection of a pier at that place.

AN EXACT ACCOUNT OF THE SEIZURE AND JOURNEY OF HIS HOLINESS, POPE PIUS VII., FROM ROME TO SAVONA, AND TO FONTAINEBLEAU.

From a small pamphlet of the same title; written by a gentleman who had repeated interviews with his Holiness, and the best means of information. It forms a curious and interesting document, as a part of the history of the present times.

In the night, between the 5th and 6th of July, 1809, at one o'clock in the morning, a considerable detachment of the Roman garri-son came in silence towards the Quirinal

Palace, (from which the Holy Father had not departed since the first invasion of the States of the Church), and surrounded it on all sides. While some climbed the walls of the palace, others climbed that part of the palace, occupied by the Pope's household. After attempting for an hour, or more, the soldiers succeeded in entering, having General Radet at their head. They began by attacking the guard-house, and disarming the Swiss Guards, to prevent resistance. These were only thirty-eight in number; and their Colonel having asked the Holy Father if it was necessary to oppose strength to strength, had received for answer, that resistance being useless, he must yield, and suffer his soldiers to be disarmed: therefore, at the French General's desire, the Swiss laid down their arms, and let themselves be shut up in their guard-house.

General Radet, after disarming the Swiss, went up to the Pope's apartments with his hat under his arm, entered the room occupied by the Sovereign Pontiff, with a few soldiers, who had their hats on. The Holy Father had not gone to bed. The General found him at his desk, clothed as when he goes out, that is to say, in his surplice, camail, and stole. The Pope was busy, writing; the General approached to intimate to him the order which he was to execute. "Why do you come to disturb my mansion?" said the Holy Father, looking at him with dignity, "what do you want?" At these words, the soldiers, who till then had kept on their hats, took them off, as with one accord, General Radet declared to the Pope, that he came from the French Government, to propose to him to consent to the abdication of his temporal sovereignty, dropping the bull of excommunication; adding that on that condition, he might remain quietly at Rome. The Holy Father, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, and pointing to it with his hand, replied: "I have acted in all things, only after consulting the Holy Ghost; and I had rather be torn in pieces, than retract what I have done."—"In this case," said the General, "I have orders to convey you from Rome." The Pope rose up, and without taking any thing but his breviary, which he put under his arm, he advanced towards the door, giving his hand to Cardinal Paccia, his Secretary of State, who had repaired into his apartment in full dress. They were conducted to the gate, which the French had broke open, where they found a carriage ready for them.

The Pope, before he went into the carriage, gave his blessing to the City of Rome. Cardinal Paccia was placed beside him, and the carriage was shut, that no one might perceive them. They went out of the city by the gate Salara, which is at a short distance

from the Quirinal Palace. The street which leads thither being little frequented, seemed most favourable to the success of a secret carrying off. It was about three o'clock in the morning. The coach, surrounded with soldiers, was led out of the walls to the Gate del Popolo, where the Florence road terminates. Post horses were ready there, which were put to immediately; and the carriage set out under an escort of armed men: General Radet, was upon the box-seat. The Roman postillions received orders to proceed with the utmost diligence. The coach was kept close shut upon the road, notwithstanding the heat, which made his Holiness suffer much.

The news of the Pope's being carried off quickly diffused itself in Rome: the inhabitants, in a profound consternation, were seen crossing the streets without speaking to one another, scarcely lifting up their eyes; and giving signs of a real grief.

The Pope's coach was conducted, with great haste, to the frontiers of Tuscany. The day he was seized it arrived at Radicofani, the first village of the States of Tuscany, situated upon a very high mountain, of difficult access, and remote from every place remarkable for population. It was then ten o'clock in the evening. The Pope had already travelled about thirty-six French leagues; they had only stopped as long as was necessary to change the horses.

The Pope was indisposed by the fatigue and heat. He suffered a very violent colic, and they were obliged to suspend their journey till the next day, Friday, towards five o'clock in the evening. They were desirous of not letting it be known in the inn who the Pope was: they carried their precautions so far, as to ask for apartments, not for the Pope, but for two Cardinals. That did not succeed; he was known, and the news of his arrival being spread in the village of Radicofani, the inhabitants flocked round to see him, and to receive his benediction. General Radet had taken care to have the inn surrounded by military stationed in that country. The soldiers hindered the multitude from approaching.

Several persons of the Pope's household, and among others, Prince Doria, groom of the chamber, a prelate, a physician, and two chamberlains (*camerlans*), having obtained permission to join him, had left Rome precipitately. They arrived at Radicofani, while the Pope was still there. After making some difficulties, General Radet at length gave them leave to follow the Pope. From Radicofani the equipage resumed the road to Florence, always observing the same precautions. At Sienna, they made the post-horses wait out of the town; but the Pope was recognized by peasants who were labour-

ing in the neighbourhood. They approached with a religious reverence; the soldiers pushed them away immediately, and the coach drove on. It arrived on Saturday, the 8th of July, at Poggi-Bonsi, where they granted four or five hours rest to the Pope.

On leaving Poggi-Bonsi, the coach broke down, and the violent shock which ensued, overthrew General Radet. He dislocated his wrist in falling; but that accident did not stop him. The same shock much hurt his Holiness. They made him get immediately into Prince Doria's carriage, and proceeded on their journey.

The same day the Pope arrived at the house of the Carthusians at Florence, out of the walls of the town. He there took several hours of rest; but the religious were not allowed to speak to him. They separated him from Cardinal Pacca, whom they obliged to take the road to Bologna, under the escort of armed men; whilst the Pope was carried, on Sunday morning, by the Pisa road, to Via-Reggio, on the sea road. It was now M. Marcotti who escorted the carriage, instead of General Radet. The intention of the government was to conduct the Holy Father into France, by the river of Genoa. He had already reached Chiavari, where General Moncheois, whom he met on the road, reflecting on the difficulties of the journey, and on the fatigue which the Pope had undergone, took upon himself to direct him to Alexandria, towards Mount Cenis.

At Alexandria, he remained two days, without being permitted to receive the persons who expressed a desire of seeing him. They resumed the road to Mount Cenis by Turin, the Pope being still obliged to remain incognito. The Cardinal Pacca, who had been some days at Alexandria, was conducted with an escort, by the same road.

The Pope passed before Turin, on Monday, the 17th of July, at one o'clock in the morning. He was then escorted by M. Boisard, colonel of *Gendarmerie*. His Holiness experienced a fainting-fit between Rivoli and Suza, owing to the fatigues of the journey. When recovered, he said to the colonel: "Have you orders to conduct me dead or alive? If you have orders to put me to death, let us continue our journey; if not, I must stop." Upon this remonstrance, the Colonel ordered the carriage to stop in a neighbouring village. The Pope asked to go into the curate's house; they conducted him to the mayor's, where he took a dish of chocolate, and after a short rest, they made him get into the carriage again, to continue his journey to Mount Cenis, where he arrived on Monday evening. After having passed two whole days at the inn, they made him set out on Thursday morning, 20th of July, by the

Chambery road. On leaving Montmeillan, the Cardinal Pacca rejoined the Sovereign Pontiff, and they entered Grenoble in the same carriage.

The Pope was conducted to the Hotel of the *Prefecture*, where he lodged during his residence in that city. On coming out of the carriage, the Cardinal Pacca was conducted on foot, by the Mayor and the Commandant, to the Hotel Belmont, where he remained without being able to have any intercourse with the Holy Father. — On Friday, the 21st of July, at six o'clock in the evening, the Sovereign Pontiff entered Grenoble. The people, apprized of his arrival, came in crowds to meet him, and to receive his blessing. This eagerness continued during the eleven days he remained at Grenoble. The Holy Father deigned to second the devotion of the inhabitants. Every evening he consented to go into the gardens, as if to take a walk, in order to give his blessing to the people, who came in crowds to receive it, through the iron gates which surround this garden. It is very large, and even public; but, at this time, they caused all the avenues of it to be closely shut. His Holiness was received with the greatest eagerness and the most tender piety, by the people in that city, but very ill by those in public authority. One of its members, affecting to keep his hat on his head, while accompanying his Holiness during his walk, all the people were indignant at it, and began crying: "down with your hat, down with your hat," until he had taken it off.

The clergy were constantly repulsed. Even a vicar-general of Lyons, who was charged with a message from Cardinal Fesch for his Holiness, was not permitted to speak to him.

On the first of August, the Cardinal Pacca was conducted to the citadel of Fenestrelles, without being able to bid adieu to the Sovereign Pontiff, who was dragged, on the same day, towards Valence. He could only stay half an hour at Avignon, and he arrived at Aix, on Friday, the 4th of August, at eight o'clock in the evening. Sieur Boissard had the charge of accompanying him to Nice, where the arrival of the head of the church had already been announced by a traveller. The Bishop of Nice and the Queen of Etruria came to meet him beyond the bridge of the Var. The Pope was already there, and on foot, to cross the bridge. Here a most interesting scene presented itself: a Queen and her son at the feet of the Sovereign Pontiff, expressing themselves only by a silence a thousand times more eloquent than the most studied discourse. The Pope, the Bishop, and the Queen re-entered their carriages, and they soon reached Nice, in the

midst of an immense crowd. The three days which he spent at Nice were like holidays. In the evening, every one was eager to illuminate, as a demonstration of their joy, *except, however, those in civil authority*. On the 9th, towards half past five in the evening, seventy-two fishing boats were ranged in order, opposite the balcony of the Prefecture. More than 16,000 individuals, of both sexes, and all ages, had repaired thither to enjoy the happiness of seeing his Holiness: when at six o'clock, he appeared and gave his blessing, with the acclamations of "Long live Jesus Christ, and his representative on earth! Long live the faith! "Long live the Christian religion!" Two hours afterwards, the seventy fishing-boats appeared perfectly illuminated. Many persons passed the night upon the shore singing hymns, waiting to receive the Pope's parting blessing next morning. It was seven o'clock when he got into the carriage. And the four coaches of the equipage left Nice to repair to Savona.

The Holy Father was first lodged at the Mayor of Savona's house; a few days after he was removed to the Episcopal Palace, and (27th September) he is again removed to the Prefecture. There he is continually guarded by a company of gendarmes; he has only been out once to go and visit a church, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, at an hour and a half's walk from Savona. He officiated on the 8th of September, the Feast of the Nativity of our Blessed Lady. The Pope could only be spoken to in presence of the mayor, or of the captain of the gendarmes. He is not allowed to write to any one; and the Bishop of Savona is not more privileged than others.

The French government sent, towards the end of September, a deputy to the Pope, M. Salmatori, a Piedmontese, charged to represent to the Sovereign Pontiff, that it became his dignity to have a more numerous equipage, and to be less shabbily lodged. In fact, a suitable lodging was prepared, servants clothed in the pontifical livery were presented to him, who protested they would serve him with zeal; in fine, a hundred thousand livres per month were offered to his Holiness for his expenses. Pius VII. refused every thing; yet M. Salmatori remained at Savona, with his suite. Eight days after, M. Berthier, brother to the prince of Neufchâtel, arrived with the title of *Master of the Pope's Palace*.

The first Sunday they begged the Sovereign Pontiff, in the most polite manner, to say mass that day at the cathedral; it seems that his Holiness had some suspicion of the numerous assembly which was in the church, for he refused to go there.

His Holiness, after having remained in his

captivity at Savona, two years and ten months, was suddenly taken out of it, and conveyed to Fontainebleau.

The greatest precautions were taken that he might not, this time, be recognised by any one. They therefore made him leave Savona with the greatest secrecy, without its being suspected in the town; they then obliged the Sovereign Pontiff to put on a blue cloak to conceal his clothes, and finally, made him travel with the greatest expedition, so that they stopped no where, and would grant him no rest, from Savona to Mount Cenis. Oh! how much did this holy Pope suffer, who is so susceptible of heat, during so long a journey, and travelling with such precipitation, being wrapped up during the whole way in a cloak, over his other clothes, and that in the month of July; that is to say, in the time of the year when the heats are most insupportable in that country, and shut up in a coach, in which, for fear of his being known, they did not even let down the glasses.

He arrived at the inn on Mount Cenis in a state of great weakness, and oppressed with extreme fatigue. By way of not letting him be seen, all those who repaired the roads were commanded to retire; and the most rigorous orders were given to make all French or Italian travellers turn back, who were crossing this mountain.

His Holiness was forced, on account of his health, to reside three days on this mountain.

On one occasion his Holiness let down the glass, to give his benediction; immediately another hand drew up the glass.

His Holiness passed through the city of Lyons, on Thursday, June 18, at ten o'clock at night, without being perceived by any one, though they watched for the purpose. He arrived at Fontainebleau, on Saturday the 20th, about 6 o'clock in the morning. It is easy to judge by this, with what precipitation they made him travel, and consequently of all he had to suffer; particularly as he was troubled with a retention of urine, from which he suffered much, even while resting himself quietly in his apartment; indeed, some days after his arrival, scarcely could he even walk two hours a day in his room, so much had the journey increased his disorder. What contributed much to it was, that instead of finding his apartment ready, on his arrival at Fontainebleau, and taking immediately a little rest, after having passed several nights on the road, without being able to sleep one moment, on account of the precipitation of the journey, his Holiness found it shut up. The keeper of the palace not having received an order for admitting him into it, he could only receive the Sovereign Pontiff into his own lodging. However, two hours after, the order for opening the palace for the Pope arrived; but though he

stood so much in need of rest, they did not let him go to his apartment till ten o'clock at night, to avoid all suspicion, and to prevent the people's eagerness to show their respect.

Instead of reproaching them who had accompanied him, he thanked them for the attentions which they had shewn him (they were few indeed; but to a great mind, and above all, to a holy soul, whatever is done for him always appears considerable, and excites his gratitude). He added, in concluding: "An unfortunate man, like myself, has nothing to offer you but prayers: be assured that I shall never forget you."—These words drew tears from all.

The Pope has with him the Archbishop of Edessa, administrator of the diocese of Immolator. The Bishop of Nantes, and some others, who are most favourable to the government, have been sent to Fontainebleau, to endeavour to gain him over; but his Holiness always shews the greatest firmness.

The cardinals who were at Paris have been permitted to pay their respects to him once; some of the ministers of government have also been to offer their homage to him. The Archbishop's palace at Paris is repairing with the greatest diligence, and it is even intended to pay him some external honours.

RUSSIAN "RAINY DAY."

[The following story is characteristic of national feeling, and greatly to the honour of the individual, as well as his nation: it even surpasses the exertions of the Russian nobility.]

Barnaul, Nov. 1.—John Balkin, one of the labourers at the melting foundry of this place, presented himself at the foundry office, and amongst the other voluntary donations made for the benefit of the country, produced on his part *five silver roubles*. The persons of rank, who were present on this occasion, aware of the slender means of this man, and the large family with which he was incumbered, expressed their surprise at this sacrifice; but he answered them with singular firmness: "the emperor succours me, and my family will not die from want: this money was left me by my deceased father, with the strict injunction that I should *lay it by for a rainy day*. On hearing of the present situation of our sacred country, which the enemy threatens to trample over, I imagined that there could not be a more *rainy day* for us than this; and therefore, in compliance with the desire of my deceased parent, I beg you will receive my money, and enter it into the book." Such zeal from a common labourer is the more worthy observation, as the inhabitants of the place are only acquainted with the disasters of the country from hearsay, owing to the distance of the situation.

THE GATHERER.

No. XXXVI.

I am but a *Gatherer* and Disposer of other Men's Stuff.—*Wooton*.

PERSONAL VANITY: FOREIGN HABILIMENTS
PREFERRED.

Speculators have been in the habit of affirming that civilized man is peculiarly susceptible of the passion of vanity: that a desire of distinction, implied in the possession of foreign ornaments; and a preference of such ornaments, as being more elegant in their forms, and composition, than those which have originated at home, is a disposition raised by luxury, and fostered by the spirit of commerce. Nevertheless we find that savages covet the embellishments with which civilized people adorn their persons, and when they can obtain complete dresses, they are as proud as the most refined can possibly be. The American Indians were formerly attracted by the dresses of the British officers who visited their country; and such natives of those regions as visited Britain were never easy till they had obtained the objects of their preference.

Early in the present reign a squaw of importance, visited the British Court, and was by nothing more gratified than by a present of a dress which she had seen her majesty wear at court. A lady of the bed-chamber whose curiosity for once overcame her politeness, in-treated the American female would gratify her with the sight of her *native* dress and fashions; but perceiving she had touched on a tender subject, she immediately apologized for her "*inconsideration*." "If we did but consider a little, Madam, we should never do wrong;"—said the Indian; and she consented to gratify the applicant, with a grace that evinced an untutored but native dignity.

Not less vanity marks the Africans. A distinguished instance of it is related by M. Lichtenstein in his *Travels in Africa*. He describes the Caffre king, Geika, as personally well made, of distinguished deportment; and, in fact, his appearance marked the sovereign; yet Geika was subject to the same vanity arising from *additional* decorations of his figure. He assumed the European dress with avidity: he shewed himself with pride to his women, expecting their applause; and was more gratified by their exclamations of delight at the effect of these "*lendings*" on his person than he would have been, on the most honourable exercise of his justice or mercy as a sovereign. Another present of the king was promised him by the Dutch Governor: the history of its reception is amusing.

This promise was punctually fulfilled, and

with a cloak several other things were sent, among which was a complete *Hussar* uniform, richly trimmed with gold lace, and a horse with a handsome saddle and bridle, and embroidered housings. Alberti gives the following account of the satisfaction which the whole present seemed to afford the king. "When I had conversed with him for some time," says he, "upon various subjects, I retired from my tent, all his train following me, that he might dress himself in the uniform which had been sent him from the Cape Town. It fitted him extremely well, and was very becoming to him. He then came out from the tent, where a richly caparisoned horse, sent also by the Governor, was waiting for him. He mounted it with his usual address, and his pleasure seemed to reach its highest possible point, when a looking-glass about six feet high was produced and set before him. He was so astonished, that it was even some minutes before he could recover himself. His vanity was now fully displayed, by galloping to a certain distance backwards and forwards before the people for a considerable time, while they contemplated him with the utmost admiration, uttering all the time loud shouts of applause. I observed that he was more particularly delighted with the applauses he received from the women."

According to Alberti's account, the Caffres infinitely prefer the European fashion of clothing to their own, and acknowledge it to be more convenient, and a better protection against the weather. They find besides something in the dress which distinguishes them, and gives them consequence. The Queen-mother was very happy in wearing a man's night-gown, which she had received as a present from an European, and seemed to be very much admired in it.

This love of European clothing is common to almost all savages. The blacks on the coast of Guinea are so particularly desirous of it, that the traders thither formerly used to buy large bundles of frippery at the market at Amsterdam upon speculation to carry to this coast. An acquaintance of mine among the Dutch navy officers, who in his early years had been at the Gold-coast, gave us a very humorous description of the purchases which he once saw made by the blacks from one of these speculators. The choice of a negro Captain, among a variety of clothing laid before him, fell upon a small three-cornered hat with gold-lace, a scarlet frock of the old French make, and a pair of velvet shoes with pinchbeck buckles. He immediately put them all on, and took into his hand a long metal-headed stick, which he had also purchased, and exhibited himself this grotesque figure, with his black body beneath his red coat (for a shirt, waistcoat,

small clothes, and stockings, which had been proposed to him, he rejected as useless and troublesome) before his fellow-countrymen with the utmost self-satisfaction, and was contemplated by them with no slight degree of envy.

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OLD ENGLISH RETAINERS: INDENTURES OF ESQUIRESHIP.

The ancient customs of our nation, are subjects of great curiosity; but of something more than mere curiosity. In turbulent times the means of strength and protection are of the greatest importance. The most exalted ranks found the greatest necessity of ensuring their security by the number of their followers; and the humbler ranks found shelter under the wings of more potent principals.

It has often struck us as a subject worthy of enquiry by what means the barons formerly could raise on the spur of the occasion those numerous attendants, encircled by which, they sometimes defied the regular course of law, and at others contended with their kings for the sovereign power of the realm. Sometimes too, they vanquished their kings in battle;—but this implies the array on their side of men accustomed to arms, men skilled in the exercise of their weapons: how did they obtain such men?

The answer to this question usually appeals to the numbers of their tenants and their immediate servants; but this was not all. They had such men at their command by wages, by honours, and by covenant. They had the strength of armies in pay during peace: and therefore may well be deemed so many little kings each in his territory assuming the state of a king, and making engagements which now are peculiar to crowned heads.

What should we think of an Earl or Duke enlisting men into his service? to obey his orders as well in time of peace as of war? What imperfect estimates we must form of the system of rebellion as incipient in those ages! The transmission of summonses to such retainers by a single Baron, might be a most suspicious circumstance; and when several Barons agreed to the same measure, the King was blamable if he did not on his side, make countervailing preparations, and extend his contemplations to "a field." What policy could be better than that which led to the breaking of power so inconsistent with the general peace, and welfare. The duty of royalty might require more barbarities in ages so barbarous, than we are aware of.

In proof of the truth of these remarks we extract an indenture of esquireship, curious for its antiquity, and happily not to be paralleled in modern times. That further documents of the same kind still exist, we have reason for believing: and that they would, if communicated to the public form valuable

items in the history of our country, cannot be doubted by any who have made that history the object of their study.

The following indenture of Esquireship, sealed with the seal of Henry E. of Derby, afterwards Henry IV. among the records of the ancient family of Blount, of Mawley-Hall, in Worcestershire; is, with the permission of the family copied for the amusement of the curious reader. "Ceste indenture faite pentr monsr Henry de Lancastre conte de Derby dune pte et Johan Blount Esquier d'autre pte tesmoigne q le dit Johan est retenuz et demorer devez le dit conte pur peas et pur guerre au terme de sa vie en mane qensuit cestassavoir q le dit Johan sra tenuz de sviar au dit conte siben en temps de peas come de guerre montiez et ba et covenablement armez et arraiez asquelles ptes q'il plerra au dit conte travailler et pur la peas le dit Johan sra as gages et bouche de conte avec le dit conte qant par ses lres il sra envoieiz et comandiez en mane come aus esquires de son estat et condicion sront et en temps de guerre le dit Johan prendra du dit conte au tielx fees et gages de guerre come aus esquires de son estat et condicion prendront et endroit des prisons et autres profit de guerre p le dit Johan ou nul de ses gens prises ou gaignez et de comensement de son ann de guerre ensemblement et de leskippe-son le dit conte ferra a lui en mane come il ferra as autres esquires de sa condicion et de son estat en tesmoignance de quelle chose a cestes endentures les ptes avantdies entrechangeablement ont mys lour seals don a Londres le xx jour de Septembre lan de regne nre trredoute St le Rey Richard second puis le conquest vingt et pmer." This was probably afterwards the knight who fell in the battle of Ravenspurgh, armed to personate his master, Henry IV. and whom under the name of Sir Walter Blount, our immortal Shakespeare has recorded as the fairest flower of chivalry, the plume of honour of his time. See the First Part of Henry IV. The name of Gaultier, Gualtier or Walter, was common in the family before and subsequently; and Holinshed, p. 523, and Shakespeare, perhaps presumed the christian name; but I find no Walter among them at this period, and the above deed induces the probability of the characters being the same. Numerous documents that would tend to elucidate our history and ancient customs, are buried among the mouldering, but valuable, records of our nobility. The history of the noble houses of this kingdom is, more than in any other nation, the history of the country; and it is to be regretted that so much is lost for want of a proper inspection of these supposed unmeaning and useless, but, in reality, most valuable materials for English history.

POLITICAL PERISCOPE.

Panorama Office, Jan. 28, 1813.

Marat,—the infamous Marat! said prophetically, "the French revolution would not be perfected till THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND heads had fallen!" Agonizing prediction!—and who believed it? Yet events proved that that infuriated Jacobin was better acquainted with the nature of the scenes he contributed to urge forward, was more à la hauteur de la Révolution, than those whose hearts were not made of stuff equally flinty. But that even Marat should anticipate the loss of three hundred thousand lives at one time, is beyond credibility—yet we have lived to see this most bloody event take place. Death, to use the language of Milton,

—drew a scent

Of carnage, prey innumerable, and tasted

The savour of death—

—With delight he snuff'd the smell

Of mortal change on earth—

Sagacious of his quarry from afar.

Never, surely, since sin and death quitted hell-gate, have they received equal gratification as within the few weeks lately past. Accustomed as we are to the perusal of history, familiar with the defeat of Xerxes, of Darius, with the destruction spread by the sword of Bajazet, of Tamerlane, of Nadir Shah, and other GREAT!! devastators of the human race, we know nothing to equal the calamities of the retreat of Buonaparte's army—omitting himself—from Moscow to the shores of the Baltic.

Whether one man is saved out of a hundred that passed Wilna for Moscow is uncertain. A few, whose good fortune stationed them in the fortresses of former Poland, have retreated, and of these some have escaped, of course; but of those who went forth *invincible!* in August last, of those "who were at that great battle under the walls of Moscow," to use Napoleon's own words, how few—how incalculably few, will see their native land, their parental hearths, their families, their friends! Accursed desolator of every nation, and kindred, and tongue, in Europe! not content with, leading to slaughter that people whom, by a miserable collusion, and abuse of terms, he calls *his own!* he has spread desolation and death throughout the continent. He has deprived states of their wealth and population:—the cry is as the cry of Egypt, when the Egyptians rose up at midnight, their prime, their first born, were slain: THERE

WAS NOT A HOUSE IN WHICH THERE WAS NOT ONE DEAD.

And for what?—for what has the best blood of subjugated nations been shed? To satisfy insatiate ambition: a task as hopeless as an attempt to close the yawning gulf of death.—But—light after darkness! it is more than possible that from this period a new scene of things is opening to our view; and we shall henceforth behold the preparatory progress towards the restoration of order—of a LONG PEACE, and a LONG PROSPERITY.

The immense army swept from the face of the earth, by one stroke of Providence, with the scarcely avoidable consequences, occupies the mind so fully, as scarcely to leave room for other matters, though in themselves pregnant with importance. All Europe is involved in *this* calamity. To mention Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Wirtemberg, Hanover, Holland, &c. is to form a list of the melancholy sufferers.

It exceeds the bounds of credibility that France, that guilty nation! should not now have felt the chastisement of its crimes, and under its present feelings be brought to serious reflection; but supposing that France should still continue beguiled, fascinated, obstinate,—the other nations which have exhausted their means, their population, their revenue, their productions, animate and inanimate,—it is impossible that *they* should not ask themselves for whom? and for what?—for their native sovereigns? No.—For their native country? No.—For any feelings of the heart? No.—For any cause justifiable to God or man? NO!

In fact, the tide of popular opinion throughout Germany is turning [has turned] against Napoleon; and all the strength of his own skill in delusion; of his pariahs in affecting to adore him, of his *espions* in controuling the language of the people, of his prefects, mayors, municipalities, &c. &c. cannot avail him. His military officers are reduced to so many *blanks*: his marshals, generals, colonels, &c. are fugitives: and *known* to be fugitives. His army is *not*.

We are therefore extremely anxious for further intelligence; not so much of Russian victories, as of the *progress of opinion*. If the Germans *will* be free, they shall be free. The Prussian army has abandoned the standards of Buonaparte. The Prussian people is ready to abandon its king; because its king has abandoned himself. *He* is a prisoner to the French; *they* wish to be free. Silesia is in arms. The Emperor of Russia has published a proclamation of encouragement, and

a few weeks will open the real scenes of this interesting drama.

Action and re-action are sometimes operative alternately as cause and effect. The defence of Portugal gave the example for the defence of Russia. The battle of Salamanca was felt even at Moscow. Now, we indulge the hope that the expulsion of the French from Russia will lead to their expulsion from Spain, and if that spirit be there, which we have always thought, though oppressed by unwieldy circumstances, it has not yet fully displayed itself, the time approaches when that country also will enjoy its liberation.

There is nothing so grand, so satisfying to the human eye, as the contemplation of the machinery of nature, and its effects—a thunder storm, a hurricane—a tornado—a waterspout: in like manner, there is nothing so capable of filling the mind with wonder, and noble ideas, as a just and fair contemplation of the machinery of Providence—Retribution, Retribution, is the grand end: the human will is the grand medium: the divine overruling direction is the grand power: and we trust, the amelioration of our race will prove to have been the grand purpose, to which all the terrific phenomena which the world has witnessed, have contributed, each in its place, each in its order.

The war with America is but beginning. We say this in opposition to our letters from America, which willingly indulge the hope of its speedy close. How far the reports of *His Excellency* Joel Barlow may affect the feelings of the war party in America, we dare not venture to surmise; but that able negotiator—if not buried in the snows of Poland—as the witty Parisians affect to believe, is well situated for reporting to his master the truths he has learned: their extent; their intensity; their consequences. That he will see *twenty sail of French line of battle ships safe in American ports*, we do not believe; and those who do believe it, hazard their confidence—or rather their credulity.

By land America has generals who follow their troops; rather than troops who follow their generals: when the volunteers march, their officers march: when those run, these run: they echo the voice of their companies; "to the right," or "to the left,"—say the soldiers; their commanders! take the hint, and repeat "to the right," or "to the left:" off, off!—home sick: home sulky: march! homewards: nearer home: at home: home.

The foreign interests of this nation which remain to be mentioned, are rather such as appertain to our commerce than to war. We have sent *some* officers to Germany; but we believe our merchants have employed many

more agents on their behalf to renew old connections, and ensure an export of great extent in the ensuing Baltic season. Orders are arrived: others are expected. Great consignments are making:—we hope, say careful citizens, to honest hands.

Sweden has remitted £100,000 in part payment of goods formerly seized: the commerce that is likely to pass through her dominions, and by her means, will soon enable her to complete her intended act of justice in paying what remains.

What Denmark will do we know not; and suspect that she herself does not know. Her army is *intact*: but her people are greatly suffering: her finances at an immense discount: her dependance on Russia is yet felt; and her *motions* will depend on those of Sweden.

The internal concerns of our country are in a waiting state: the questions coming before the Parliament are of vital import. The Catholic Question; on which a spirit of opposition is alert, which some had thought did not exist. We never doubted its activity, on a supposed proper occasion. Should the question be carried, after the late measures of the Catholics, we have our apprehensions. All are for toleration: but not many for admission to power.

The question on the renewal of the East-India Company's Charter is another of those great movements which will occasion much—we fear, angry debate. We attribute great consequence to this subject, and much are we mistaken, if the ensuing twenty years, do not by their prosperity, or their adversity, justify this opinion. Much we fear for the interests of Britain: but more, much more, for those of British India; and of British Hindostannees, especially, amid the present conflict of opposing sentiments and counsels.

The Ottoman Porte has recently given leave for the passage of English ships through the Straits, into the Black Sea. This is of very great assistance to Malta, where heavy stocks of goods have been long lying; and will bring back immense returns of corn, at a cheap rate from Odessa, &c.

On the whole therefore, it should appear, that trade will be brisk in the north, and in the south also, in the ensuing spring. This coincidence is remarkable; at the same time that it is uncommonly gratifying.

We have little or no intelligence from our settlements in the West Indies. We suppose that they suffer from the rupture with America; but a variety of reports, of which the West India islands have lately been the subjects, are happily unfounded. That we have

lost a couple of frigates to the Americans is true: but the affirmed loss of others with great wealth on board, is altogether untrue.

The political state of our extensive territories in the East Indies, is at present untroubled, except by local and temporary grumbings, which in *such* a country, so long the prey to discord, to confusion, to contradictory authorities, to unsettled taxation, to fraud, and to connivance, are the natural productions of the soil.

It is impossible that any person who has not a thorough acquaintance with India—a region of confusion and contradiction!—should comprehend the thousandth part of the labour bestowed by the officers of the East India Company, to ameliorate the condition of the natives; and the small portion of success they have hitherto met with.

The possible continuation of these exertions—without which all that has hitherto been done will be useless,—depends on the disposition of the Court of Directors; and the disposition of the Court of Directors depends on the prospect of the terms on which their future commerce with that country shall be carried on. For this view of the present unfinished state of Indian economy, we appeal to the extensive “Fifth Report,” a slight review of which (it contains 1002 pages) will form a leading article in a future number.

Our trade with China will most probably continue in much the same state as at present. The Emperor has issued two decrees against christianity, which will contribute nothing to increase the favour of Europeans in that country. Yet the number, now very great, and continually augmenting, of his subjects to whom the European trade is of consequence, and who, in fact, subsist by it, will certainly controul his actions in some degree, though no such acknowledgment can ever be expected from him or his officers.

We have no particular intelligence from the Cape of Good Hope; but we understand that that colony is assuming a more respectable attitude—to use a French expression, than formerly. It thinks of greater exports; and it has regulated its course of exchange to better terms for itself than was the state of it a few months ago.

South America is now to be considered under two distinctions, the Spanish and Portuguese possessions in it.

The Spanish part of South America has long been the seat of convulsions, and at this moment, accounts respecting it are contradic-

tory, but we incline to think, that on the whole, the spirit of adherence to the mother country, increases; while revolutionary principles are declining. Assuredly Buonaparte will touch very little of the products of the Spanish mines direct from their native soil.

The Portuguese part of South America, appears to be more inclined than heretofore, to live in peace with her neighbours the Spaniards. Indeed it was natural while Old Spain and Portugal were over-run with the French, that the Regent, banished from his paternal inheritance in Europe, should be desirous of making the most of the advantages offered him by those territories that were left; and certainly the incorporation of the whole of the Eastern Coast of South America under his dominion, was a powerful political temptation. At present, we believe that both parties understand one another; and find their true interests in peace.

The latest advices we have from France assure us that Buonaparte keeps up the tone of a great man, with most exemplary spirit. He has already raised a great part of another army—on paper: and has received from his people most wonderful assistance in promises. The city of Paris talks of furnishing 500 horse: but they are not forthcoming; and even if they were, the number is pitiful for the metropolitan city, according to French estimate the most populous in the world.

The Legislative body has voted a new conscription of three hundred and fifty thousand men:—which added to a recent one of about one hundred and twenty thousand, of men in the prime of life! in the prime of connection! How can manufactures and commerce flourish under such distressing privation?

Buonaparte's reasons for his rapid flight from his army to Paris are now apparent: he designed to reach Paris before the extent of his losses should be known: it is not even yet known in France generally. He would cajole what remains of his army; the following is an instance; but it stands alone, and most probably will continue to stand alone, till the fate of the continent is decided.

Letter from General Molitor, addressed to the Minister at War, dated Amsterdam, the 26th December, 1812.

Monseigneur,—The 29th bulletin of the grand army has raised to the highest degree the ardour of the troops of the 17th military division, and also their sentiments of love and devotion to the Emperor.

The 3d, 76th, 77th, 78th, and 83th cohorts of the 1st band of the National Guard, solicit, as an especial favour, to be sent to the grand army.

I herewith join the request of these troops, by praying your Excellency to lay it before his Majesty. *This prayer was not made after deliberation, but by a motion equally free as spontaneous, and which at the same time electrified all the officers, sub-officers, and soldiers of these fine cohorts.*

(Signed) The General MOLITOR.

Paris, Jan. 2.—A decree issued on the 22d ult. permits legal proceedings in the departments united with the empire to be recorded in the vernacular language of those departments. The journalists are also allowed the same privilege, with regard to all articles of intelligence, except political news, which must continue to be printed in two columns, one of them being French; and if articles of the latter description are extracted from a French paper, the French text must be preserved. This decree does not extend to the Roman States, nor to that of Tuscany.

We have already mentioned the exertions made by the ladies of Russia, in point of donations and subscriptions for the public service: perhaps nothing does them greater honour than the benevolent intention towards their suffering fellow subjects, alluded to in the following memorandum.

St. Petersburg, Dec. 14.—A society of patriotic ladies has been formed here under the patronage of her majesty the Empress Elizabeth Alexejevna, for the support of the families which have suffered by the war, and for the relief of the wives and children of those who are with the army. The Secretary of State, Prince A. N. Golezyn, having presented to his Imperial Majesty the plan of this society, he has been pleased to honour it with his most gracious approbation, as appears from the following letter addressed to those benevolent ladies by his Excellency Prince Golezyn:—

“Gracious Ladies,—I have had the happiness of laying before his Majesty the Emperor the project of the benevolent institution called the Patriotic Society of St. Petersburg. Ladies, his Imperial Majesty, who has with peculiar satisfaction accepted this beneficial design, as a proof of his attention to this very benevolent institution, has been pleased to subscribe to it 50,000 rubles, and 10,000 rubles annually to the same, as long as the society exists.”

There is another subject relating to home affairs on which we touch with reluctance.

The state of our agriculture is not so satisfactory as we could wish. This is partly

owing to the weather, which has been thought unfavourable for the past season; but this may be compensated by drier weather, now approaching.

The appearance of the *rot* among the sheep, where it has not before appeared, is an unpleasant circumstance: this however may be owing to the same cause, the weather, and may abate with it.

These considerations we hope and trust will have no lasting effects on the country; but we should exceedingly regret any cause by which the prices in the markets may be raised, though but for a short time, at a period so full of interest as the present.

CHINESE PEREMPTORY ORDERS: RUSSIAN EMBASSY TO CHINA.

A small volume has recently been published at St. Petersburg, intitled, *History of the Russian Embassy to China, in 1806*. It is said that the sole object of this embassy was to re-establish commercial relations between the two Empires. Count GOLOPKIN, on his arrival with his suite, was received with much respect, and invited by the Mandarin, Governor of the frontier province, and brother-in-law of the Chinese Monarch, to a banquet; but on his entrance into the hall where the entertainment was prepared, he and his suite were required, according to custom, to prostrate themselves with their faces on the ground before the throne. The Count peremptorily refused, declaring at the same time, that he would not object to comply with this ceremony before the person of the EMPEROR. After two hours spent in altercation, the Count departed without having partaken of the banquet. Next day, the Mandarin proposed, as a conciliatory measure, that the Count should send one of the gentlemen of the Embassy to Pekin, with a letter, in which he should excuse himself for having failed in the ceremonial, by stating, that he had sent to demand new instructions from his Sovereign: this the friendly Mandarin observed would occasion delay, and afford him time to make his peace. The letter was then transmitted to the Emperor with the usual forms. The Count was not, however, permitted to proceed on his journey. In February, 1806, an official answer was received from Pekin, purporting, that “as the Russian Embassy was composed of madmen, nothing more was left than to break with them, and to give them safe conduct to Russia.” At the same time, it was signified to the Count, that the subsistence of his suite was limited to eleven days. The Count having no other alternative, took his departure, greatly chagrined at this early termination of his mission.

STATE OF TRADE.

Lloyd's Coffee House, Jan. 20, 1813.

The avidity with which many brought a very short time ago, has raised the market for certain articles to the full height that it was susceptible of; in consequence, there has been not so much a fall in price, as a slackness in buying; while in other articles the speculation has been converted into expectation, and the demand continues as brisk as ever. Notwithstanding the quantity of cotton already sold, the price keeps up; and *fine* is raised at Liverpool 1d. per lb. Fine Surinams full 2s. 3d. Cotton twist is advanced at Manchester from 3d. to 6d. per lb. What opportunities at present occur are made the most of by merchants exporting to France, as it is well understood, that after the small number of licences for trade to that country, now outstanding, the Board of Trade having refused to grant additional, opportunities of transit will be very rare. The spring shipments may give another lift to cotton.

Tobacco is in demand; but the quality is scrupulously examined. Good quality, though of the second sorts for reputation is improved in price.

Silk is advanced and advancing. Thrown silk from 1s. to 2s. per lb. East-India silk likely to follow the Italian; as the demand will prove favourable to the holders.

The buyers of Baltic produce with intent to re-sell, having now obtained their quantities, and knowing the state of the markets, are firm in their prices. The quantity of tallow in London is but small; and that article is rising notwithstanding the approach of longer days. The prices of Hemp have given way at St. Petersburg: it has dropped from 115 rubles to 95. While coffee which was at 30 to 35, is now 70 rubles. The exchange had fallen to 16½. This article is in demand throughout the north of Germany, &c. wherever intercourse with Russia can be supposed.

Our readers will see that the course of exchange taken as a whole has risen in favour of Britain; and we rather hope is likely to rise: this not only marks an incipient commerce where commerce has too long been a stranger; but the hopes of its continuance, and increase on the Continent.

Sugar continues in request: but from the great quantity already sold, there cannot be so extensive orders as lately. The holders, however, though sensible of this momentary abatement, look forward to a certainty of obtaining the full value of their commodity, and willingly run the risque.

AGRICULTURAL REPORT.

Essex.—During this month little has been done, but cutting new fences, repairing old ones, and collecting manure. The best effects have been produced on the later sown wheats and all the lands in general. Tares for spring seed promise a good supply.

Suffolk.—The late sown wheats look better than the early sown. We are getting the lands ready, to put in beans and oats. The lands work well. Barley and beans are found very deficient, now they are brought to the flail.

Warwickshire.—The present month has been productive of little alteration as to the appearance of vegetation, which at this season is usually locked up. The wheat when last visible looked healthy. The turnips have suffered a good deal by the severity of the weather; particularly the early sown crops: the Swedes look well and bid defiance to every thing. The markets are still on the advance. The plough and the flail yield every thing to the farmer; and it is a matter of serious regret that a greater portion of land is not under tillage. The sheep are tainted with the rot in most places; in many where the disease has never been known before to make its appearance: this we should hope will among other urging causes induce the proprietors, to insist on their lands being underdrained and the old moss-grown worn out turfs being turned under; particularly when the country is labouring under its present oppression, not from a defective harvest; but a defective tillage. It is asserted on an authority indisputable, that if one third more of the lands in the inclosed districts were in a regular course of tillage, they would be enabled to sustain an equal portion of live stock, at the same time carry them better through the winter, and the rot would be unknown. Lean stock is on the advance, so much so that the grazier will not probably after eight weeks feeding be able to make more than prime cost. The wool trade is rather brisk and every thing which looks towards Russia for a market seems now to be stirring.

PRICE OF GOLD AND SILVER.

To the Editor of the Literary Panorama.

Sir,—The following fluctuations in the price of gold and silver have taken place lately.

Sep. 2.	fine gold rose	1 shilling	per ounce.
	do. silver do.	2 pence	do.
	7. do. gold do.	1 shilling	do.
	12. do. do.	1 shilling	do.
	16. fine silver do.	3 pence	do.
Oct. 6.	do. fell	2 pence	do.
Nov. 28.	fine gold rose	2 shillings	do.

From the last date the price of fine gold has been £5 10s. per ounce till yesterday, when it fell FOUR SHILLINGS per ounce!

The price now charged by the London refiners is, fine gold, £5 12s. 0d. per ounce.
silver 7s. 4d. do.

Jan. 21, 1813.

B. S.

Bankrupts and Certificates, in the order of their dates, with the Attornies. Extracted correctly from the London Gazette.

BANKRUPTS.—Dec. 22.

Belcher, Henry, of Sloane-street, Chelsea, jeweller. *Att.* Mr. Selby, Upper Charles-street, Northampton-square, Clerkenwell.
Chapple, John, and Thomas Bushell Fitzgibbon, of Mayfield, Sussex, brewers. *Att.* Mr. James, Bucklersbury.
Cole, Nathan, jun. of Cirencester, Gloucester, carpenter. *Att.* Mr. Hamilton, Berwick-street, Soho.
Baronshaw, Benjamin, of Eland, York, woollen-manufacturer. *Att.* Mr. Wiglesworth, Gray's-inn.
Foster, George, of Gainsborough, Lincoln, chinaman. *Att.* Mr. Hannam, East Retford, Nottingham.
Goldie, John, of South Shields, Durham, ship-owner. *Att.* Bell and Bird, Bow-lane, Chesham.
Gould, George, of Bath, druggist. *Att.* Highmoor and Young, Bishopgate-street.
Green, Thomas Pest, of Oxford-street, stay-maker. *Att.* Mr. Hamilton, Berwick-street, Soho.
Greaves, Mary, of Hanley, Stafford, malster. *Att.* Will son, King's Bench-walks, Temple.
Hartfield, W. Dewsbury, York, grocer. *Att.* Hartley, New Bridge-street, Blackfriars.
Holland, J. late of Lewes, Sussex, corn-dealer. *Att.* Mr. Gwynne, Lewes.
Hony, Henry, of Henry's Hotel, Duke-street, Manchester-square, vintner. *Att.* Mr. W. A'Beckett, Broad-street, Golden-square.
Jones, Humphrey Richard, of White Lion-street, Norton-falgate, oil and co. owner. *Att.* Mr. W. P. Windus, Bartlett's-buildings, Holborn.
Leverack, Martin, of Kingston-upon-Hull, ironmonger. *Att.* Mr. Rosser, Bartlett's-buildings, Holborn.
Mansley, Robert, of Little Bolton, Lancaster, rope-maker. *Att.* Mr. Windle, John street, Bedford-row.
Mlner, J. Halifax, York, bookseller. *Att.* Mason, Broad-street-hill.
McCaullum, J. Christopher-street, Finsbury-square, merchant. *Att.* Vandercom and Comyn, Bush-lane, Cannon-street.
Keale, J. late of Narrow-wall, Lambeth, smith and iron-founder. *Att.* Hussey, Furnival's-inn, Holborn.
Nowlan, J. Kent-street, Whitechapel, soap-manufacturer. *Att.* Sweet and Stokes, Basinghall-street.
Walkinson, J. High Holborn, potatoe-dealer. *Att.* Chabot, Cripple-street, Spitalfields.
Williams, W. Margaret-street, Cavendish-square, coach-maker. *Att.* King, Castle-street, Holborn.
Walker, F. T. late of Liverpool, merchant. *Att.* Cooper and Lowe, Southampton-buildings, Chancery-lane.
Wightman, W. Derby, hosier. *Att.* Kinderley, Gray's-inn, London.

CERTIFICATES, to be granted on or before Jan. 12.

C. and G. Priestley, Leeds, merchants.—J. Sims, King-street, Tower-hill, butcher.—W. Consens, Clare-street, grocer.—T. Sedgewick, Clements's-lane, merchant.—I. Packer, Upper George-street, Montague-square, painter.—T. Meacher, Newgate, Pagani, Buckinghamshire, brewer.—I. Alvey, Blackman street, haberdasher.—A. Hart and P. Simons, Portsea, navy-agents.—J. Badger, Old Jewry, merchant.—R. Jackson, Manchester, corn-factor.

BANKRUPTS.—Dec. 26.

Allam, W. Reading, Berks, barge-builder. *Att.* Stevenson, New-square, Lincoln's-inn.
Reebce, E. Bilston, Stafford, malster. *Att.* Kinderley and Co., Gray's-inn.

Ball, W. Liverpool, merchant. *Att.* Milne and Parry, Temple.
Brandreth, J. Bolton-le-Moors, Lancaster, cotton-manufacturer. *Att.* Kline and Parry, Temple.
Bowers, J. Stockport, Chester, cotton-spinner. *Att.* Milne and Parry, Temple.
Crouch, W. King-street, Southwark, painter. *Att.* Harvey and Warne, St. Helen's-place, Bishopgate-street.
Cropsey, W. Cambridge, hardwareman. *Att.* Blacklow, Frith-street, Soho.
Cockburn, J. South Shields, Durham, grocer. *Att.* Bell and Brudrick, Bow-lane, Chesham.
Daukerley, J. Pitt-bank, Oldham, Lancaster, cotton-manufacturer. *Att.* Willis and Co., Wainford-court.
Harper, C. and J. M'Whinnie, Camperdown House, Snow's-field's, Surrey, blacking and emery-paper-manufacturers. *Att.* Stratton and Allport, Shoreditch.
Hair, J. Brook-street, Lambeth, merchant. *Att.* Wilkinson and Greenwood, Queen's-court, Chesham.
Haywood, J. Cateaton-street, warehouseman. *Att.* Holmes and Fiske, Mark-lane, Fincharch-street.
Horton, T. Shrewsbury, Salop, linen-draper. *Att.* Kinderley and Co., Gray's-inn.
Hills, T. Sandwich, Kent, ship-builder. *Att.* Egan and Waterman, Essex-street, Strand.
Hunt, S. jun. Cadman, Southampton, dealer and chapman. *Att.* Sandy's and Co., Crane-court, Fleet-street.
Jackson, W. Hinckley, Leicester, hosier. *Att.* Ware, Holborn-court, Gray's-inn.
Jones, J. Shepherd's-market, May-fair, dealer and chapman. *Att.* Few, and Co., Henrietta-street, Covent-garden.
Lewin, B. Bishopgate-street, jeweller. *Att.* Paterson, Cophall-court, Throgmorton-street.
Munn, J. Prestwich, Lancaster, cotton-manufacturer. *Att.* Duckworth and Co., Manchester.
Prickett, T. White Horse Livery Stables, City-road, *Att.* Kernott, Salisbury-street, Strand.
Pester, R. Bristol, malster. *Att.* Whitcombe and King, Serjeant's-inn, Fleet-street.
Paine, B. Circus-lodge, Royal-hill, Greenwich, auctioneer. *Att.* Turner, Kirby-street, Hutton-garden.
Pindar, B. Kinton-in Lindsey, miller. *Att.* Leigh and Co., New Bridge-street, Blackfriars.
Russell, T. late of Upper Seymour-street, grocer. *Att.* Clarke, Bishopgate-street Without.
Stephenson, W. late of Leeds, York, merchant. *Att.* Lambert and Sons, Bedford-row.
Thompson, J. R. Hunslett, Leeds, York, dry-salter. *Att.* Sykes and Knowles, New Inn.
Wood, R. Harwich, Essex, fisherman. *Att.* Williams and Brooks, Lincoln's-inn.
Whitwell, T. Liverpool, master-mariner. *Att.* Shephard and Co., Bedford-row.
Wilkinson, T. Cateaton-street, warehouseman. *Att.* G. Adam, Old Jewry.

CERTIFICATES, to be granted on or before Jan. 16.

J. Glover, St. Mary-at-hill, London, carpenter.—C. Wales, Bolt court, Fleet-street, upholsterer.—P. Guichenet, Langbourne-chambers, Fenchurch-street, merchant.—T. Hairsine and J. Oxtoby, Kingston-upon-Hull, spirit-dealers.—J. Bridger, jun. Mortlake, tallow-chandler.—J. Wolff and J. Dorville, New Bridge-street, merchants.—C. Stokes and J. H. Schneider, sen. Birmingham, ice-ther-sellers.—G. Kirkham, Lancaster, merchant.

BANKRUPTS.—Dec. 29.

Browne, B. Holborn, milliner. *Att.* Dimes, Friday-street, Chesham.
Cox, J. Ilminster, Somerset, shopkeeper. *Att.* Jenkins and Co., New Inn.
Cox, T. Chipping Sodbury, Gloucester, innholder. *Att.* Witcombe and King, Serjeant's-inn.
Cresser, T. Garraty, New Inn, Yorkshire, inn-keeper. *Att.* Eyre, Gray's-inn-square.
Griffiths, D. Canterbury, linen-draper. *Att.* James, Earl's-street, Blackfriars.
Mason, R. late of Norfolk-street, Middlesex-hospital, carver and glider. *Att.* Williamson and Rimmer, Cliford's-inn.
Napier, T. Liverpool, merchant. *Att.* Meddowcroft, Gray's-inn.
Surrenne, G. Dean-street Soho, goldsmith and jeweller. *Att.* Blacklow, Frith-street, Soho.
Turner, R. Birmingham, builder. *Att.* Egerton, Gray's-inn-square.

CERTIFICATE.—Jan. 19.

J. Minet, Finsbury-square, merchant.

Smithfield, per stone of 8lb. to sink the Offal.

1810.	Beef.	Mutton.	Veal.	Fork.	Lamb.
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Dec. 21	6 2	6 4	7 8	7 0	0 0
1813.					
Jan. 4	6 2	6 4	8 0	7 4	0 0
11	6 4	6 4	8 4	7 4	0 0
18	6 4	6 6	8 4	7 4	0 0

Newgate and Leadenhall, by the carcase.

Dec. 21	5 4	5 6	6 4	6 4	0 0
Jan. 4	5 0	5 4	7 4	7 0	0 0
11	5 0	5 6	7 8	6 8	0 0
18	5 4	6 0	7 4	7 0	0 0

St. James's.* Whitechapel.*

		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Dec.	21	5	15	6	2	2	0	5	15	0	2	3	0
Jan.	4	6	0	0	2	5	0	5	16	0	2	5	0
	11	6	6	0	2	2	6	5	15	0	2	2	0
	18	6	0	0	2	3	6	5	15	0	2	2	6

Butts, 50 to 56lb. 25d.	Calf Skins, 30 to 40lb.
Dressing Hides 21	per dozen — 37
Crop Hides for cut. 23	Ditto, 50 to 70—40
Flat Ordinary — 18d.	Seals, Large, £9.

TALLOW,* London Average per cwt.

Soap, yellow, 96s.; mottled, 110s.; cand, 114s.
Candles, per dozen, 13s. 0d; moulds, 14s. 6d.

Dec. 19	5,534	quarters.	Average 126s. 5½d.
26	5,756	—	— 125 8½
Jan. 2	6,533	—	— 124 1
9	7,216	—	— 121 1½

Dec. 25	11,386	sacks.	Average 109s 5½d.
Jan. 1	12,695	—	— 109 4½
8	15,700	—	— 109 4½
15	26,416	—	— 109 5½

Peck Loaf. Half Peck. Quartern.

Dec. 25	6s. 2d.	3s. 1d.	1s. 6½d.
Jan. 4	6 2	3 1	1 6½
9	6 2	3 1	1 6½
15	6 2	3 1	1 6½

* The highest price of the market.

Dec. 21	0s. 0d. to 0s. 0d.	0s. 0d. to 0s. 0d.
Jan. 4	48 0	0 0
11	48 0	0 0
18	42 0	50 0

* Delivered at 13s. per chaldron advance.

Dec. 21	32	35	32	29,80	0	Foggy
22	37	38	33	,83	0	Foggy
23	34	36	33	30,18	4	Cloudy
24	32	35	32	,35	6	Cloudy
25	30	33	32	,42	5	Cloudy
26	30	34	33	,40	4	Cloudy
27	32	34	31	,47	0	Cloudy
28	30	36	36	,45	6	Cloudy
29	39	46	43	,15	10	Cloudy
30	43	47	42	29,90	14	Fair
31	42	45	42	,81	0	Sm. rain
Jan. 1	40	46	40	,83	0	Cloudy
2	39	47	49	,99	0	Cloudy
3	39	42	39	30,26	10	Fair
4	40	43	38	,12	0	Cloudy
5	38	42	40	,01	0	Cloudy
6	40	48	40	29,70	0	W. & rain
7	41	46	42	,60	0	Sm. rain
8	47	50	36	,55	16	Fair
9	34	41	35	,70	10	Fair
10	32	38	32	,90	14	Fair
11	33	36	33	,86	0	Sleet. rain
12	34	37	34	,60	0	Cloudy
13	33	38	34	,50	0	Sm. rain
14	34	37	33	,62	0	Cloudy
15	34	38	30	,79	0	Cloudy
16	30	43	34	,90	11	Fair
17	33	37	32	30,15	12	Cloudy
18	29	34	32	,04	7	Cloudy
19	32	33	32	,08	0	Sleet
20	31	34	30	,17	7	Cloudy

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE.

Prices Current, Jan. 20th, 1812.

American pot-ash, per cwt.	2 18	0	to	3 0	0
Ditto pearl.....	3 3	0	3 5	0	0
Barilla	1 15	0	2 0	0	0
Brandy, Coniacgal.	1 12	0	1 14	0	0
Camphire, refined...lb.	0 6	3	0 7	0	0
Ditto unrefined...cwt.	18 10	0	24 0	0	0
Cochineal, garbled...lb.	1 11	0	1 12	0	0
Ditto, East-India.....	0 5	0	0 7	6	0
Coffee, fine (none)...cwt.	3 10	0	4 10	0	0
Ditto ordinary.....	2 8	0	3 10	0	0
Cotton Wool, Surinam, lb.	0 2	0	0 2	3	0
Ditto Jamaica.....	0 1	8	0 1	10	0
Ditto Smyrna.....	0 1	6	0 1	8	0
Ditto East-India.....	0 0	10	0 1	4	0
Currants, Zantcwt.	4 8	0	4 15	0	0
Elephants' Teeth	23 0	0	27 0	0	0
Scrivelloes	10 10	0	15 0	0	0
Flax, Riga.....ton	118 0	0	0 0	0	0
Ditto Petersburg	98 0	0	102 0	0	0
Galls, Turkey.....cwt.	8 0	0	8 8	0	0
Geneva, Hollandsgal.	1 10	0	0 0	0	0
Ditto English.....lb.	0 15	6	0 16	0	0
Gum Arabic, Turkey,cwt.	6 10	0	8 17	0	0
Hemp, Riga.....ton	90 0	0	0 0	0	0
Ditto Petersburg	90 0	0	0 0	0	0
Hops	10 0	0	14 0	0	0
Indigo, Caracca	0 11	0	0 11	6	0
Ditto East-India	0 3	9	0 11	0	0
Iron, British bars, ..ton	14 10	0	15 10	0	0
Ditto Swedish.....	20 0	0	21 0	0	0
Ditto Norway.....	20 0	0	0 0	0	0
Lead in pigs.....fod.	20 0	0	21 0	0	0
Ditto red.....ton	27 0	0	0 0	0	0

Lead, white	ton	42 0	0	to	0 0
Logwood chips	ton	11 5	0	12 0	0
Madder, Dutch crop cwt.	9 0	0	10 0	0	0
Mahogany	ft.	0 1	4	0 1	10
Oil, Lucca, ..25 gal.	jar	20 0	0	22 0	0
Ditto spermaceti...ton	90 0	0	91 0	0	0
Ditto whale	38 0	0	40 0	0	0
Ditto Florence, ½ chest	62 0	0	64 0	0	0
Pitch, Stockholm, ...cwt.	1 2	0	0 0	0	0
Raisins, bloom	6 0	0	6 10	4	0
Rice, Carolina.....	3 12	0	4 2	6	0
Rum, Jamaica bond gal.	0 5	4	0 6	6	0
Ditto Leeward Island	0 4	0	0 5	0	0
Saltpetre, East-India,cwt.	3 14	0	3 16	0	0
Silk, thrown, Italian..lb.	2 17	0	3 15	0	0
Silk, raw, Ditto	1 15	0	2 0	0	0
Tallow, English.....cwt.	3 18	0	0 0	0	0
Ditto, Russia, white..	4 8	0	0 0	0	0
Ditto....., yellow..	4 11	0	4 12	0	0
Tar, Stockholmbar.	1 16	0	0 0	0	0
Tin in blocks	6 13	0	6 15	7	0
Tobacco, Maryl.....lb.	0 6	0	0 7	0	0
Ditto Virginia.....	0 6½	0	0 1	1	0
Wax, Guinea.....cwt.	8 0	0	9 0	0	0
Whale-fins (Greenl.) ton.	68 0	0	70 0	0	0
Wine, Red Port.....pipe	125 0	0	130 0	0	0
Ditto Lisbon	100 0	0	120 0	0	0
Ditto Madeira.....	100 0	0	0 0	0	0
Ditto Vidonia.....	80 0	0	94 0	0	0
Ditto Calcavella.....	110 0	0	126 0	0	0
Ditto Sherry....butt.	105 0	0	120 0	0	0
Ditto Mountain.....	75 0	0	100 0	0	0
Ditto Claret....hogs.	75 0	0	110 0	0	0

COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

Amsterdam, us. 29-6—Ditto at sight, 28-8—Rotterdam, 8-17—Hamburgh, 29—Altona, 29-1 us.
 —Paris, 1 day's date, 19-80—Ditto, 2 us. 19-50—Madrid in paper—Ditto eff.—Cadiz, in paper
 —Cadiz, eff. 49—Bilboa—Palermo, per oz. 125d.—Leghorn, 58—Genoa, 54—Venice, in eff. 52
 —Naples, 42—Lisbon, 73—Oporto, 71—Dublin, per cent. 8—Cork, ditto 8½—Agio
 B. of Holland, 5 per cent.

Daily Prices of STOCKS, from 20th November to 20th December, 1812.—By J. M. Richardson, 23, Cornhill.

1812. Dec. 21	Bank Stock.	3 p. Cent. Refused.	3 p. Cent. Consols.	4 p. Cent. Cons. 1780.	May 3 p. Cent.	Long Annuities.	Omanum.	Imperial 3 p. Cent.	Ditto 3 p. Cent.	India Annuities.	India Stock.	India Bank.	South Sea Stock.	Old Annuities.	New Ditto.	Excheg. n.	Lottery Tickets £ s. d.	Consols for Acct.	Irish Annuities.	Irish 3 p. Cent.
22	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	59	—	—	shut	7d	shut	—	shut	5pr.	—	62	—	98
23	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	58½	4½	—	7d	7d	—	—	—	4d	—	62	—	—
24	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	58½	4½	—	7d	7d	—	—	—	4d	—	62	—	—
25	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	58½	4½	—	7d	7d	—	—	—	4d	—	62	—	—
26	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	58½	4½	—	7d	7d	—	—	—	4d	—	62	—	—
27	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	58½	4½	—	7d	7d	—	—	—	4d	—	62	—	—
28	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	58½	4½	—	7d	7d	—	—	—	4d	—	62	—	—
29	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	58½	4½	—	7d	7d	—	—	—	4d	—	62	—	—
30	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	58½	4½	—	7d	7d	—	—	—	4d	—	62	—	—
31	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	58½	4½	—	7d	7d	—	—	—	4d	—	62	—	—
1813. Jan. 1	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	58½	4½	—	7d	7d	—	—	—	4d	—	62	—	—
2	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	58½	4½	—	7d	7d	—	—	—	4d	—	62	—	—
3	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	58½	4½	—	7d	7d	—	—	—	4d	—	62	—	—
4	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	58½	4½	—	7d	7d	—	—	—	4d	—	62	—	—
5	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	58½	4½	—	7d	7d	—	—	—	4d	—	62	—	—
6	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	58½	4½	—	7d	7d	—	—	—	4d	—	62	—	—
7	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	58½	4½	—	7d	7d	—	—	—	4d	—	62	—	—
8	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	58½	4½	—	7d	7d	—	—	—	4d	—	62	—	—
9	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	58½	4½	—	7d	7d	—	—	—	4d	—	62	—	—
10	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	58½	4½	—	7d	7d	—	—	—	4d	—	62	—	—
11	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	58½	4½	—	7d	7d	—	—	—	4d	—	62	—	—
12	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	58½	4½	—	7d	7d	—	—	—	4d	—	62	—	—
13	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	58½	4½	—	7d	7d	—	—	—	4d	—	62	—	—
14	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	58½	4½	—	7d	7d	—	—	—	4d	—	62	—	—
15	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	58½	4½	—	7d	7d	—	—	—	4d	—	62	—	—
16	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	58½	4½	—	7d	7d	—	—	—	4d	—	62	—	—
17	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	58½	4½	—	7d	7d	—	—	—	4d	—	62	—	—
18	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	58½	4½	—	7d	7d	—	—	—	4d	—	62	—	—
19	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	58½	4½	—	7d	7d	—	—	—	4d	—	62	—	—
20	223	61½	shut	77	shut	15½	10½	58½	4½	—	7d	7d	—	—	—	4d	—	62	—	—

The Average Prices of Navigable Canal Property, Dock Stock, Fire-Office Shares, &c. from 20th January 1813, at the Office of Messrs. Risdon and Damant, 4, Shorter's Court, Throgmorton Street, London.

London Dock Stock, £101½. to £103.—West-India Dock, £144. to £144½.—East-India Dock, £106. to £105.—Globe Assurance Stock, £0.—Imperial ditto Shares, £50. to £47 10.—Eagle ditto ditto, £2 2.—Hope ditto ditto, £2 2s.—Atlas ditto ditto, £4.—East-London Water-Works, £63 to £62.—Kennet ditto, £58 to £58.—London Institution Shares, £51 10s. to £50.—Grand Junction Canal ditto, £201 10s. to £201.—Kennet and Avon, £22.—Leeds and Liverpool, £207.—Wilts and Berks, £16 10s.—Thames and Medway, —Huddersfield, £17½.—Grand Surrey, £106½. to £109.—Grand Western, £37 Disc.—Grand Union, £25 Disc.

London Premiums of Insurance, December 20th, 1812.

At 2 gs. Poole, Exeter, Dartmouth, Plymouth, and Falmouth.	At 2 gs. Cadiz, Lisbon, Oporto; Home 8
At 14 gs. Yarmouth, Hull, Newcastle, and Portsmouth.	At 3 to 4 for convey.
At 3 gs. Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Newry, and Port of Scotland, Bristol, Chester, and Liverpool.	At 6 to 8 gs. Madeira. Home 8 to 10 gs.
At 2 to 4 gs. France, with Trepanes; back	At 10 gs. Leeward Islands, with convey.
At 6 gs. East-India, Comp. ships. Gibraltar, with returns. Home with returns 6	Cape of Good Hope, Africa, Malaga, &c.
	Western Isles. Gottenburgh 12 to 15 gs.
	Home 10 gs. with ret. nothing done.
	At 10 to 12 gs. Jamaica, with convey 1 ret.
	5. Home 25 gs. ret. £5. and 30 gs. ret. 10.
	At 13 gs. Brazil, home 12 to 15 gs. East
	India, out and home. Malta, Sicily, &c. ret. 6. Home the same.
	At 15 gs. Honduras, ret. 7. Canada, Newfoundland, home 20 gs. with ret. Smyrna, Constantinople, Salonica. Home the same.
	At 20 to 25 gs. Southern Whale Fishery; out and home. Stockholm, 30 gs. with returns. St. Petersburg, Riga, &c. 30 gs. Home 35 to 40 gs.—Home.